

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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PRESIDENT WILSON, MAKING HIS FLAG DAY ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON ON JUNE 14, FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE TREASURY BUILDING

*"For me the flag does not express a mere body of vague sentiments. The flag of the United States has not been created by rhetorical sentences in declarations of independence and in bills of rights; it has been created by the experience of a great people, and nothing is written upon it that has not been written upon it by their life. It is the embodiment not of a sentiment but of history, and no man can rightly serve under that flag who has not caught some of the meaning of that history."* (From the President's address.)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LII

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No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Peace and  
Defense*

June, 1915, will be written down in the world's annals as a month of deep emotion, terrific struggle, profound social undercurrents as well as notable surface events. In our own country there was a nearer sense of the value of peace and the sickening horror of war. There has been a reaction from the deviltry of jingoism, and a renewed disposition to try to bring the neutral sentiment of the world together in an effort to save Europe from its madness. There is an increasing belief in the doctrine that Americans, as individuals and as a nation, should be capable of acting in self-defense. This principle being admitted, it remains for those of ripe wisdom and experience to decide by what means we should be prepared. National self-defense a hundred years ago could be expressed in terms of squirrel rifles and powder horns. To-day the conditions demand a different kind of provision. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW, Professor Vincent, of the Johns Hopkins University, writes of Switzerland and her problems as a neutral. At this moment she is completely surrounded by warring nations, and if she were not strongly armed and capable of self-defense it is morally certain that the strategy of one commander or another would involve the violation of Swiss territory.

*Training  
Young Citizens*

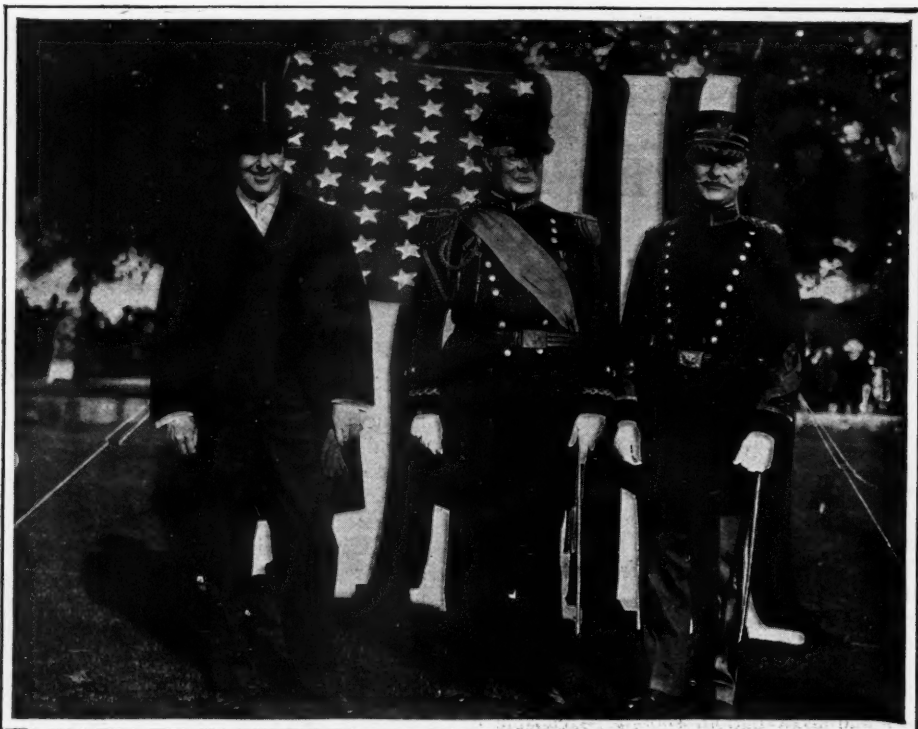
The Swiss are not warlike; they are simply determined to defend their right to live peaceably and securely in their highlands. Professor Vincent tells how the Swiss boys are all trained to serve if needed in defense of their country. There are some of us who give time and effort to what are called "peace movements," and who look forward with hope and faith to world federation, international naval police, and European disarmament; and yet we believe that every American boy ought to be

trained for the all-around duties of citizenship, including service as soldiers in the country's defense. The Constitution clearly looks to such readiness on the part of the citizen, and for that reason declares that Congress may provide for calling forth citizens to serve as militiamen to quell insurrection or repel invasion; and, to enable them thus to serve the country, there is guaranteed the right to keep and bear arms. Since every young man is liable under the law to be called upon to perform military duty, why should he not be so trained as to be fit to perform such service well? Every sheriff or peace officer has a right to call upon citizens to rally for forcible action in emergencies. Fitness to serve well at such times should be considered in the training of every boy for civic responsibility.



UNCLE SAM (to President Wilson): "Why not read that to Congress?"

From the Tribune (New York)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. LINDLEY M. GARRISON (SECRETARY OF WAR), MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT (CHIEF OF STAFF) AND COLONEL TOWNSLEY (SUPERINTENDENT OF WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY) WATCHING THE PARADE OF CADETS AT THE GRADUATION EXERCISES LAST MONTH

*Navies  
for Defense  
Purposes*

A hundred years ago we had a vast fleet of merchant ships sailing every sea. They could readily be fitted with guns and turned into privateers in case of war. But navies cannot be improvised in these days. If a country as large and important as ours is to have a navy at all, it can afford to have one strong enough to serve adequately those purposes we have in view in the maintenance of any sort of naval establishment. We should either have a navy of no importance at all, like China or Mexico, or else we should have one commensurate with our needs, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge. If we had possessed only two or three more battleships in 1898 Admiral Cervera would not have sailed to our side of the Atlantic, and we should have settled the Cuban question with Spain by peaceful negotiation. Unfitness for self-defense does not make for peace in a warlike world. Until the world is organized for the avoidance of war, and the protection of the weak against the strong, it is the duty of the United States to be well prepared.

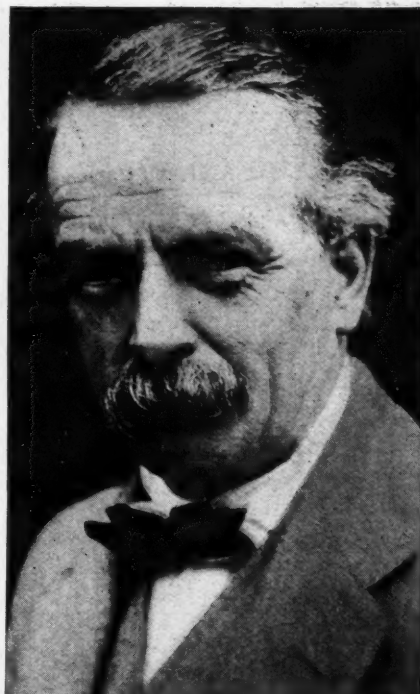
*America's  
Present  
Sentiment*

Three great sentiments, let us repeat, swept across the United States in June. First, we prize our blessings of peace and we will not fool about the fringes of Europe's War, nor will we be drawn by any untoward incident or process of logic into a European mid-continental contest for supremacy that is not ours to decide. Second, in an age like this we cannot afford to jeopardize our supreme right to live at peace, by being unprepared for self-defense. Third, all the peoples of Europe are akin to us, our civilization is derived from theirs in great part, and we must strive to help them find a basis for peace. To that end, we as citizens and as neutrals should do nothing that would put us in a false position or impair our national usefulness or influence in the great cause of world harmony.

*England's  
Opinion*

That the people of England would rejoice to have the war ended is not to be doubted, no matter what their newspapers say about the need of crushing Germany. Senator Bev-

eridge's article contributed to this number of the REVIEW, on war opinion in England as studied by him earlier in the year, shows clearly the trying conditions with which the leaders have had to contend in raising and equipping armies. English statesmen do not misunderstand the European conditions. They are willing to have Germany live and prosper. But Germany's neighbors must be secure, the wrongs of Belgium must be righted, and any peace must have ample guarantees of permanence. England being a free country, there will always be grumbling and certain evidences of industrial and political discord. But there is great spirit in English leadership; and Hodge will follow on, even though he may grumble. It remains to be seen how well the new coalition cabinet may be able to meet difficulties and carry on the war. But it has elements of strength, and its formation averts the serious calamity of a general election that could otherwise not have been avoided. The members of the new ministry, and their respective posts, are shown in the group picture printed across the two following pages. Mr. Asquith, of



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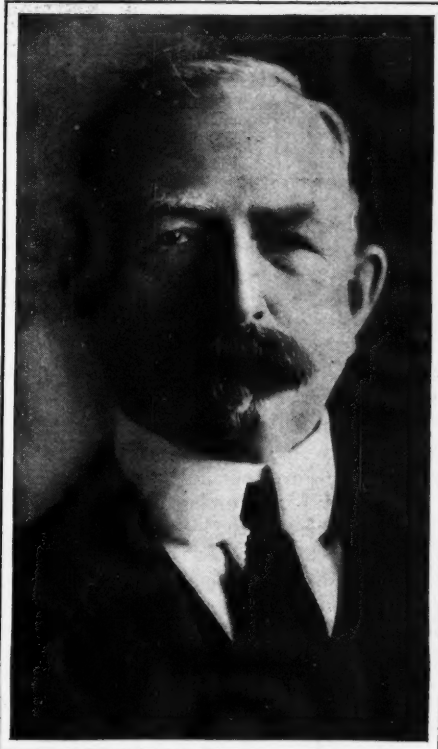
DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

("England's Man of the Hour")

course, remains as Prime Minister, and Lord Kitchener holds his post as Minister of War.

*Kitchener a  
Mere Mortal*

But Kitchener no longer dominates the situation. He had been given a threefold task that was beyond his power or that of any other man. He had been made responsible as War Minister for England's part in the conduct of the struggle. It had belonged to him as a second task to raise and train by far the largest armies ever known to Englishmen. Third, it had been his duty to make effective use of agencies for the supply of all kinds of materials and munitions of war. It was hard enough to enlist the men, give them training, and find suitable officers. But the further course of the war has shown that supplies, and particularly guns and ammunition, are the greatest need. The recent defeats of Russia seem to be due to lack of such material. The organization on a great scale of the English industries which can supply these things is the most pressing need. A new cabinet office has been created, and Mr. Lloyd George is now Minister of Munitions, and he, rather than Kitchener, is the man of the hour,—the foremost leader in the Empire.



SIR THOMAS SHAUGHNESSY

(Who is marshaling Canadian resources for the British Government)



From the Illustrated London News

**BRITAIN'S NEW COALITION WAR CABINET, WHICH TOOK OFFICE MAY 27,—**

1, Arthur Henderson, President of the Board of Education (Lab.); 2, Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India (U.); 3, T. McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland (L.); 4, Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (L.); 5, Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies (U.); 6, Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War (Non-party); 7, Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (L.); 8, Lord Crewe, Lord President of the Council (L.); 9, Mr. Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions (L.); 10, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, First Commissioner of Works (L.); 11, Reginald McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer (L.).

*Lloyd George's Great Plans*  
Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad system, has been chosen to direct in a large way the agencies on this side of the Atlantic coöperating in Mr. Lloyd George's efforts to create an ample supply of munitions. The aroused and courageous spirit of Canada in this period is wonderfully shown, for the benefit of our readers, in an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Mr. J. P. Gerrie, who writes from Edmonton, but is familiar with the East as well as the West. British officials are coming to the United States and Canada to bring businesslike system into expenditure of vast sums involved in contracts for war supplies. Meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George brought before Parliament, late in June,—with the assurance of almost immediate passage,—a remarkable bill placing all munition-making factories under government control, strictly limiting their profits, and providing for their operation by a volunteer army of artisans pledged to work anywhere

in the United Kingdom, under prescribed conditions, at the government's request. In the near future there is to be a general tax on all business profits, and a great increase in the rate of the income tax.

*European Feeling,—Germany's Iron*

It is said that in Russia the Czar goes about unguarded, and that there are great signs of reform and progress among the people and in the spirit of the government. In France there is unity, silence, and unflagging courage, but a pervasive sense of the deep loss and wrong of war. Germany goes on with no break in her system of war management and supply. Organization pervades every department of German activity. The normal iron output of Germany is almost twice that of England, while Germany now controls the large iron and coal product of Belgium, and by far the greater part (probably four-fifths) of the iron and coal areas of France, which lie in the Republic's extreme northern belt. It was only last month that the full nature and ex-



#### INCLUDING THE CHIEF LIBERAL AND UNIONIST LEADERS

(12, Sir Stanley Buckmaster, Lord Chancellor (L.); 13, Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (L.); 14, Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Home Affairs (L.); 15, Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade (L.); 16, Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland (L.); 17, Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board (U.); 18, Lord Selborne, President of the Board of Agriculture (U.); 19, Sir Edward Carson, Attorney-General (U.); 20, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Privy Seal (U.); 21, A. J. Balfour, First Lord of the Admiralty (U.); 22, Lord Lansdowne, no portfolio, (U.).

tent of Germany's advantages in this control of coal, iron, and steel became widely apparent. German authorities now say openly that the turning over of vast American resources for the manufacture of war munitions, such as guns, cartridges, and projectiles, to the service of the Allies, amounts in effect to making the United States the most formidable of Germany's foes. This view, however, looks forward to the second year of the war, rather than backward to the first.

#### *Austria's Gains and Losses*

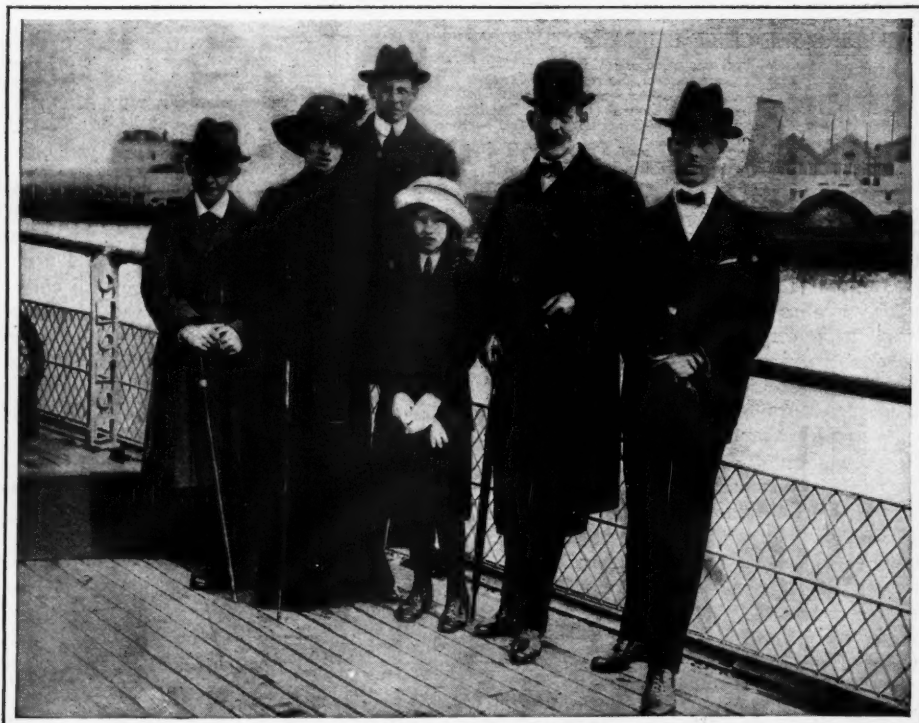
Germany's valor and great resources had helped Austria to reorganize her shattered armies, and to share with General Mackensen in the credit of recapturing Przemyśl and the rolling back of the Russian armies that were occupying Galicia. But Italy's entrance into the war at that juncture created fresh perils for the empire of the unfortunate Francis Joseph. He had forced war upon Serbia, and had found war facing him in every direction. What Italy's entrance

#### *What Will Happen in the Balkans*

King Constantine seems to be recovering from his dangerous illness, but the elections in Greece last month resulted in a great victory for the supporters of the former Prime Minister, Venizelos. If he had not been opposed by the King, Greece would have joined the Allies several months ago and aided in the expedition against Constantinople. Italy's program must, however, affect the future action of Greece; and Venizelos may not be able to obtain as good a price from the Allies



M. VENIZELOS, FORMER PREMIER AND LEADING STATESMAN OF GREECE, VISITING THE SPHINX DURING HIS VOLUNTARY EXILE IN EGYPT. HE IS ABOUT TO RESUME POWER



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A SNAPSHOT OF THE KING OF GREECE AND FIVE OF HIS CHILDREN

for Greek aid now as was offered to him early in the spring. Both Rumania and Bulgaria are also in positions of great difficulty, and while they have seemed most likely to join the Allies, they have been demanding assurances in the matter of recompense and reward, with rival demands hard to adjust.

*The Peoples  
Want Peace*

It was plain that no nation was to gain anything easily, or without paying a terrible price. Austria would have made free concessions to Italy, of a kind that Italy will not gain by war without much sacrifice of men and money. Austria and Hungary will fight desperately to hold their respective outlets to the sea at Trieste and Fiume. The mountaineers of the Southern Tyrol will struggle like heroes to retain all but the extreme southern tip of the province of Trentino. There is only one gain that hundreds of millions of men, women, and children in Europe desire above all things, and that is the attainment of peace and the right to live securely. This must come chiefly through internal movements. The women of Germany, working with the Social Democrats, must put an end to militarism and must make Prussia a democratic country at any cost or sacrifice. Other oppressed peoples must also seek the day of reckoning with their ruling caste. Germany is trying to make herself believe that this is a war of peoples and not one of governments and rulers. But the Germans are bound to face the truth; and the truth will in due time set them free. Time for a truce should not be long delayed. The pride of kings and rulers should be made to yield to the demand of outraged and suffering humanity. America, in league with other neutral nations, should be ready to urge mediation and find the basis for an accepted and guaranteed world peace.

*Ten Days  
of  
Suspense*

When the light of clear judgment prevails again there will be profound gratitude to the President of the United States for having taken a course exactly opposite to that which the newspapers, through ten anxious days, had announced that he was going to take. Never were newspaper headlines more reckless or mischief-making. Knowing nothing whatever about the plans of the President, the newspapers, nevertheless, day after day, from the 31st of May to the 11th of June, kept the entire American public stirred up and in anxious suspense, by declaring that the President was about to send a rigid ultimatum to

Germany, which could hardly result otherwise than in war between the two countries. The first American note to Germany, following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, had borne date of the 15th of May. A preliminary German reply had been made on May 28 and issued in the United States on the 30th. The newspapers of the 31st declared that this German note was resented at Washington as wholly unsatisfactory, and that it would be followed, probably within forty-eight hours, by an answer which President Wilson had immediately prepared and which was peremptory, unsparing, and relentless in its accusations and its demands. We were told that Ambassador Gerard was about to leave Berlin, that diplomatic relations would probably be severed at once, and that Germany would be forced to the alternative of humbly obeying our orders in every particular, or else declaring war against the United States.

*Newspaper  
Hysteria at  
Its Worst*

The most sickening thing in American history, perhaps, was the reckless gloating of American newspapers over a dangerous situation that they were doing everything in their power to create. President Wilson's rejoinder was not sent on June 1, nor on June 2; and the public was informed in terrorizing headlines that it was being held back while all the dictionaries were being searched to find words more "strong" and "emphatic" with which



UNCLE SAM (to Mr. Bryan): "Don't be scared, William; I'm not!"

From the Tribune (South Bend)

to build up the most crushing piece of undiplomatic rhetoric ever launched by one government against another. Each day, beginning with early morning and continuing with hourly editions until bedtime, came forth the newspaper extras with their alarming headlines, shrieking about "the note!" "THE NOTE!!" "THE NOTE!!!" The President had a chat of a few minutes with the German Ambassador, and this was megaphoned as a most startling thing. Finally the climax of hysteria was reached when Mr. Bryan resigned on June 8 from his position as Secretary of State, because he could not affix his signature to a piece of diplomatic correspondence so likely to involve his country in the throes of a great war. Still the public was kept in the dark about the note itself, while the newspapers declared, with a renewal of their insane joy, that Bryan's action proved all that they had been saying for ten days. Certainly "the note" must be loaded with high explosives; and we might confidently believe ourselves to be on the brink of a war with Germany. This would offer the newspapers a prospect of using screaming headlines for an indefinitely long time to come. (It may be remarked parenthetically that whatever good or bad effects great wars may have in other directions, they render the daily press hysterical, sensational, and eager to keep the public frenzied,—though it is fair to say that some newspapers have retained their sanity, even through the past two months.)

*- Calm  
Rather than  
Storm*

At length, on the morning of June 11, a tortured and anxious nation was allowed to read the note that they had been told was fraught with the issue of peace and war, and big with the fate of America for many generations yet to come. It had been dispatched in code to Germany on the night of the 9th, but had been withheld from Americans until the 11th. A more courteous and reassuring note, so far as form and manner go, could not have been conceived. Instead of giving the impression that somebody was picking a quarrel, and that a bad matter was being made worse by angry manners, the reader was not able to discover a single phrase or word that was provoking or hostile or recriminatory. The note stood clearly for just principles; carried no threats either open or concealed; shut no door in the face of a calm study of ways and means by which to remedy wrong without perpetrating greater wrong. When read in future days, in the light of historical facts,

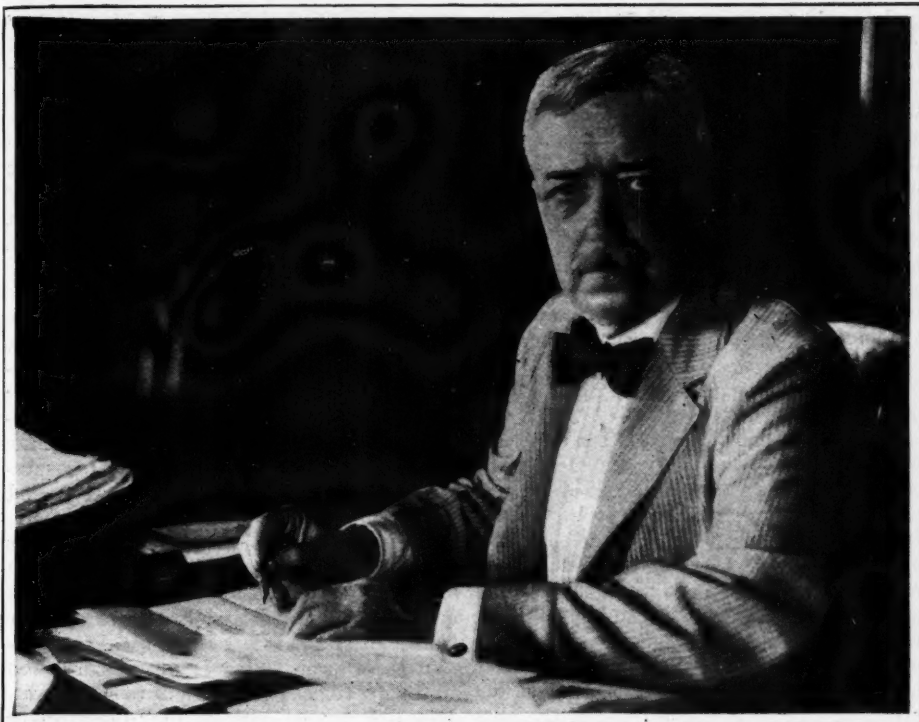
the value of the note will be found to lie in what it does not say. Its affirmative ground is that the United States, as a neutral nation and speaking for all neutrals, does not admit that neutral rights are impaired by the exigencies of one belligerent or another. Its effect on the minds of a troubled nation was like that of a beautiful June morning, after threatening skies and unverified predictions of floods and cyclones.

*Americans  
Have Some  
Real Rights*

In spite of reckless newspapers, nobody in the United States desired to be dragged into war. We have a hundred million people in this country, whose real and practical rights at home are very much more important to them than their technical and theoretical rights abroad. There were millions of people whispering to one another, during the period when the newspapers were shrieking defiance at Germany, that they did not wish to be embroiled in European quarrels, and that they felt entitled to peace and quiet here at home. Since neither they nor any of their neighbors desired to navigate dangerous European waters just now,—as passengers on belligerent ships carrying munitions of war,—they did not see why their somewhat vague theoretical right to commit this obvious impropriety should be championed to the point of being forced to a sharp issue. They were not infatuated with the idea that many of their sons might have to lay down their lives to vindicate the consistency of dialecticians at Washington who were said to be engaged in exchanging arguments with foreign governments, on questions of so-called "international law." Many of these simple citizens, who had never read a page of the elementary textbook on international law written by young Professor A, of B College, were privately saying in their family circles that they wished those "officials" at Washington who were being mysteriously quoted every day as working overtime in their endeavor to break into the European quarrel, would lock their office doors and go off fishing for the entire summer. This was the real American feeling.

*Government  
as a  
Menace*

To these plain people we seemed to be drifting dangerously into a situation like that of Europe a year ago. None of the nations of Europe wished to fight against one another, and none of them had anything to fight about. All of them were the victims of obsession on the part of their governing groups. There could have been no war in Europe if the peoples



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ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE

(As photographed June 12 at his desk in the Department offices)

had been truly represented. The game of rulers, politicians, professional militarists, imperialist and jingo editors, and the makers of war supplies, is opposed to the interest of ordinary citizens and of all women and children. Busy "foreign offices" are dangerous,— "King Log" is safer than "King Stork." The United States has not nearly as much cause to become embroiled in the European war as has the Argentine Republic or Brazil. Those countries have been very much more seriously interrupted and disturbed in their trade relations than has this country. Relatively to population, their citizens travel in Europe far more than do ours; and their reasons for doing so are much more urgent because of personal and business relationships. We have no reason for engaging in diplomatic duels with Germany or England that any other neutral nation does not have in equal or greater measure. The interests of Holland and the Scandinavian countries are involved in many difficult and perplexing ways. Ours are involved, relatively speaking, to a very slight extent. Every American who now goes to Europe understands the risks. The questions at stake are common to many countries.

*The Right  
to Have  
Peace*

All this is said, not by way of implied criticism of the Administration at Washington, but by way of defense of that Administration from the current impressions created by alarmist newspapers from the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, on May 7, until well after the sending of President Wilson's second note to Germany, on June 9. The thing that the newspapers have utterly refused to explain to their readers has been always present in the thoughts and plans of the Administration. If a wrong is committed that needs to be atoned for or redressed, the newspapers talk "war," "war," "war" incessantly. War proves nothing, remedies nothing, intensifies wrong. President Wilson and his Cabinet are clearly aware that *the American people have a right to avoid war*,—to be secure and at peace here at home,—and that *this right is paramount*. It is an imbecile notion that a nation's honor requires it to go to war for every difficulty or dispute that may arise. Both England and Germany have been constantly violating international law since the outbreak of the war. But none of these violations takes the form of intentional aggres-

sion or insult against any neutral country. The harm to neutrals is in all cases incidental to the colossal and desperate character of the war itself. Our Administration intends to protest, calmly and without compromise, against all kinds of disregard of the rights of neutrals; but unquestionably our Government has no intention of plunging this nation into war, unless for reasons so clear and unmistakable that millions upon millions of plain citizens, all the way from Florida to Puget Sound, and from Maine to California, would agree unanimously that war was inevitable. War should require clear assent.

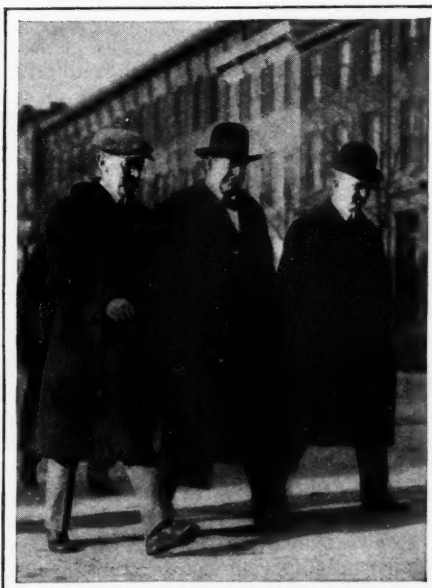
*The  
Menace of  
the Press*

Newspapers are run by ordinary human beings. In August and September of last year these men were sensitive to the horrible and dastardly nature of warfare among civilized nations, and they were clear in their support of neutrality, not merely as a doctrine, but as a practical thing to be worked for and, if necessary, to be sacrificed for. But, through this awful year, war has been coming to be the rule, and peace the exception. Newspaper men, like soldiers, become accustomed to bloodshed. There has been a gradual but profound change in the attitude of the press towards war, as an evil in itself. Furthermore, the public also becomes calloused and loses its sensibility, if only the events of war are far enough away. Thus the sale of large editions and the demand for "extras" began to wane. War news of the most appalling kind seemed tame. The only way to stimulate the appetite for sensation was to bring things nearer home. Hence the use of the *Lusitania* incident in large headlines for many days, and even weeks, and the attempt to make it appear that, because there were well-known Americans on board the unfortunate ship, the catastrophe was primarily an American incident in the legal and diplomatic sense,—which, of course, it was not. The newspapers seemed intent upon getting America into war over that bad affair.

*Wrongs and  
Their Proper  
Redress*

Any American now sojourning in England takes his chances of being killed by bombs dropped from a German Zeppelin. The dropping of bombs on undefended places is repugnant to the spirit and opposed to the rules of international law. America and all other neutral countries have a right to protest against such warfare, and indeed ought to do so more vigorously than they have yet done. But the killing of an American in England,

in such fashion, ought not to be so dealt with in diplomacy as to result in the requiring of millions of Americans to sacrifice their dearest treasures at the feet of the god of war. It is quite time that the American public should have it out with the American newspapers. If we were destined to have trouble with Germany, it should have been long months ago, when Belgium was invaded. It is true we were not signers of the original treaty which especially guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium. The signers were Prussia, France, and England. But we were signers of a recent treaty drafted at The Hague which laid down the rights of neutrals, as well as their duties, in time of war; and it will always remain a matter for honest difference of opinion whether or not the United States and all other neutral governments should not have made prompt protest in Belgium's behalf, and perhaps have followed protest by an ultimatum. Germany's action was so swift, however, and Belgium was so quickly in the position of a belligerent,—with England and France presumably able to make good their Belgian guarantee,—that there seemed little if any practical way of giving official expression to the disapproval of neutral nations. Our Government thought it wise to say nothing on the subject.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

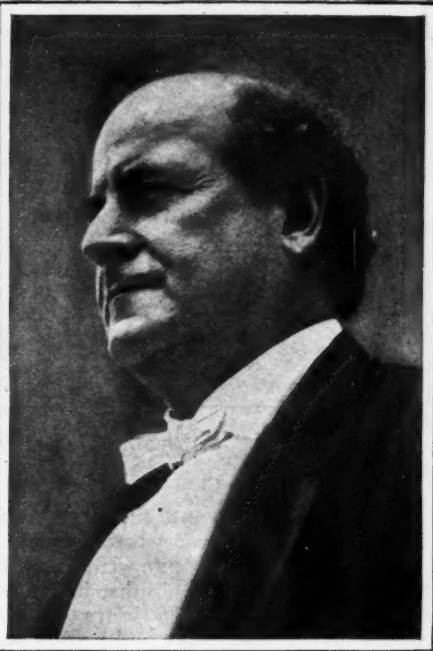
PRESIDENT WILSON, EX-SECRETARY BRYAN, AND  
PRESIDENT WILSON'S SECRETARY, MR. TUMULTY,  
WALKING THROUGH THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON  
SEVERAL MONTHS AGO

*A League  
of Neutrals  
Needed*

Nevertheless, the attack upon Belgium was a threat against the safety of every neutral country, particularly against those which, like the United States, have very small military equipment. The United States ought now, without further delay, to take steps looking toward a league of nations for strengthening the safety of those that choose to live at peace minding their own business. As regards Germany's present course in making a zone of torpedo warfare around England, it is true that neutral rights are concerned. But, when reduced to real values, the contrast is almost as wide as possible. Both England and Germany are denying to neutrals their clear right to sail in certain waters without harm or molestation. This is very inconvenient for countries like Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, having a great deal of shipping and being close to the affected zones. But even to them it is as the small dust in the balance when compared with the menace to all neutral rights involved in Germany's ruthless subjugation of Belgium. As for ourselves, we have so few merchant ships, and so little real need of taking risks in the danger belts, that neither England's illegal blockade of Germany nor Germany's reckless terrorism along the British coasts hurts us fatally in any rights that our duties or interests require us to exercise. We claim our rights; yet for safety we may postpone their use.

*What  
Citizens  
May Do*

It is well worth while, then, for our Government to state clearly to all belligerents, both the practical and the theoretical rights of neutrals. But it is also good statesmanship and sound common sense to deal patiently and carefully with incidents as they arise. Meanwhile there are many things that the citizen should understand, as belonging within the realm of his freedom of action. It is entirely permissible to take the ground that one will not allow his friends, particularly women and children, to travel to Europe on ships carrying munitions of war for the supply of a belligerent. Good Americans must see that this adds insult to injury. While there is no law that interferes with the manufacture, sale, and export of guns, powder, and other munitions, it is to be remembered, on the other hand, that there is no principle either of law or ethics that requires anybody to go into this sort of traffic. The people who are doing it have no motive except to make money. The nations at war



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

are all of them losing money; and their citizens are making sacrifices of life and fortune.

*A Matter  
of  
Choice*

We Americans have proclaimed to all nations the coming day when swords should be beaten into plowshares. We are not now obliged to convert our plowshares into swords,—for the use of our impoverished neighbors at three times the ordinary price of weapons! The war has stopped the vast European trade of the International Harvester Company in all kinds of farm machines and implements. This company, indeed, might have been tempted to use its idle factories for the making of rifles and various kinds of war supplies. But we have not heard that it has chosen to enter this lucrative trade. Nor have we seen it stated that the United States Steel Corporation, with its exceptional facilities, is entering the market for big guns and ammunition. There is no feasible way, it would seem, by which the Government can discourage the making, selling, and loading upon ships of these materials for waging war. It is not a very handsome thing to be mixed up in a war with the sole motive of gain, rather than that of patriotism or principle. This, however, is a matter for the private judgment of those concerned.



© 1915, by John T. McCutcheon

BOTH FOR PEACE, BUT BY DIFFERENT ROUTES  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

But when such supplies are nearing the scene where they are to be brought into actual use for the killing of men, the ship that bears them is in reality as much an instrument and agency of war as if she carried great guns on her own decks. It is much to be feared that a nation engaged in desperate warfare will not be wholly punctilious and correct in observing the time-honored custom of "visit and search," when the war itself is largely dependent upon the arrival of war supplies. And this is especially true when the supplies come from a neutral country that has diverted its normal industrial activities to the abnormal making of such munitions,—in an atmosphere of speculative greed for profits. Under such circumstances, let us repeat, it is in bad taste for American citizens to take passage with these munition cargoes, and still expect their Government to busy itself about their safety. It is the right of the private American citizen to demand that passenger ships carry no war munitions. It is his right to sail, if possible, under a neutral flag, rather than that of a belligerent. It is his further right to sail, if possible, under his own flag, rather than that of any other country. If his heart is full of zeal for one side or the other in the European struggle, he may cross the sea as best he can and offer to enlist and fight. Or he may show the lofty spirit of a certain Boston lady who offered to send her son. Thus one may go and take his chances under a belligerent flag. But American common sense is quite opposed to taking "joy rides" on the ammunition wagon amidst European scenes of carnage, and then expecting Uncle Sam to furnish insurance.

Bryan's  
Alarming  
Performance

Mr. Bryan's resignation, on June 8, created a real sensation because of the circumstances. For ten days the newspapers had tortured the public into a mood that had passed from uneasiness to one of almost agonizing suspense,—all with regard to the mysterious "note." The President had been represented as a sort of High Priest in the Holy of Holies;—or like a Moses enveloped in cloud who was in due time to emerge with tablets of stone upon which were to be found engraved such words of finality as must determine the fate of an anxious people. Suddenly it was announced that the Secretary of State had resigned, and that his resignation had been promptly accepted. This was taken to mean that the President's course was tending towards war, while Bryan without avail was counseling peace methods. In his letter of resignation, which was given to the public immediately, Mr. Bryan declared:

You have prepared for transmission to the German Government a note in which I cannot join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war.

Referring specifically to "the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen," Mr. Bryan further told the President that "we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed." He added that as a private citizen he would endeavor to promote the ends which the President had in view but did not "feel at liberty to use."

'As Seen from  
a Different  
Angle

*Then Came  
"The Note!"*

It is not strange that the public should have been worried on reading these words. Mr. Bryan and the President had presumably been working in great harmony for two years; and this break could only mean, in the common estimation, that President Wilson was going to follow the advice of the newspapers, and provoke Germany to an immediate declaration of war. It was hard to wait, after Bryan's alarming words of Tuesday, until the note itself was made public Friday morning. Then a few millions of people felt as if they had been subjected to a rather unfair practical joke, or some kind of needless hoax. For never was a state paper more free either from stinging phrases on the one hand, or from the hard logic that corners an adversary and leaves no room for escape on the other hand. So far as we are aware, the note itself disarmed all its anticipatory critics. It was not belligerent, it was not drastic. Mr. Wilson had indulged in none of his flashes of irony. He had put into it none of his charm of style. It was, in short, merely a suitable rejoinder to the German answer. The sentences were rather long and dull. Except for one or two phrases and favorite words, it bore no marks at all of Woodrow Wilson's composition.

*Favorably  
Received  
Abroad*

It was feared that Mr. Bryan's resignation might be regarded in Germany as evidence of divided councils, and might thus hamper the further course of diplomatic proceedings. And taking this serious view of the matter, a great many leading American newspapers went so far as to denounce Mr. Bryan as acting in a way that was morally if not legally treasonable. This, of course, was quite silly. The



BRYAN AND THE REPROVING SPIRIT

(The spirit of neutrality protests to Mr. Bryan against the abuse of her name by the attempt to justify under it the American war munitions business)  
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



HAMLET U. S. A. [AN ENGLISH VIEW OF WILSON]

(Scene: The ramparts of the White House)  
PRESIDENT WILSON: "The time is out of joint; O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right!"  
Voice of Col. Roosevelt (off): "That's so!"  
From *Punch* (London)

impression created abroad was that of American union and strength, rather than of division and weakness, inasmuch as the Administration did not allow the Secretary of State's personal views and feelings to alter its line of action. Mr. Bryan had desired to proceed in a different way; but he seems to have had incidents in mind, while the President was dwelling upon principles. Germany had, in a supplemental communication of June 1, admitted the President's principles as applying to the cases of the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight*. This had gone very far to clear up the situation. In the matter of the *Lusitania*, Germany had made certain allegations of fact as to the belligerent nature and character of the ship, which might if true have affected somewhat the principles involved. The President sweeps away, however, those errors of fact, and holds to the main principle of the humane treatment of innocent passengers in the case of a ship which was predominantly engaged in the passenger business. With great serenity of tone and propriety of manner, Mr. Wilson's note makes its clear distinctions. The more frequently and carefully the President's note is read, the more convincing and reasonable do its positions seem

to be. The note gives great prominence to the suggestion that the United States Government will be glad to use its good offices in an attempt to find some basis for an understanding between Germany and England "by which the character and conditions of war upon the sea may be changed."

Wilson  
and  
Bryan

There need be no doubt in any quarter as to the fact that Mr. Bryan was greatly esteemed by the President and by all of his colleagues in the Cabinet. It is often the case that the best way to take such affairs is to accept what those concerned state as to facts and reasons. The President's letter of June 8 is notable, and will have its place in the history of American politics and public affairs. We quote it, therefore, without abridgement:

MY DEAR MR. BRYAN: I accept your resignation only because you insist upon its acceptance; and I accept it with much more than deep regret,—with a feeling of personal sorrow.

Our two years of close association have been very delightful to me. Our judgments have accorded in practically every matter of official duty and of public policy until now; your support of the work and purposes of the Administration has been generous and loyal beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it afforded has been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our affectionate admiration and friendship. Even now we are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it.



"GOOD BYE, BILL, TAKE KEER O' YOURSELF"  
From the *Times-Dispatch* (Richmond)

It is for these reasons that my feeling about your retirement from the Secretaryship of State goes so much deeper than regret. I sincerely deplore it. Our objects are the same, and we ought to pursue them together.

I yield to your desire only because I must, and wish to bid you Godspeed in the parting. We shall continue to work for the same causes even when we do not work in the same way. With affectionate regard,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

It is to be said that Mr. Bryan's expressions were equally cordial, and, further, that they were regarded as entirely sincere. Those having direct and confidential sources of information have been able to declare that Mr. Bryan stood very high in the esteem and good-will of the entire Cabinet. It is also said by well-informed men that he was highly regarded by the foreign diplomats at Washington, who found him always ready to receive them, and indefatigable in his devotion to the work of his department. The newspaper attacks upon Mr. Bryan have not, therefore, represented the feeling or point of view of those most concerned at Washington.

Bryan  
in the Wrong  
Position

Yet it has never been the opinion of most of the men competent to pass judgment that Mr. Bryan was in his right place as Secretary of State. His work is that of influencing popular audiences, as a speaker on the platform. He is a powerful campaigner for the causes that he believes in. He hates war, and there is no cause just now so important as that of permanent peace based upon the triumph of liberty and justice. He hates the evils of drink, and feels impelled to take a popular part in the great agitation for nation-wide prohibition. He did not find it possible, as Secretary of State, to avoid going out from time to time to address large audiences on his favorite themes. Sometimes he was away making speeches when the established etiquette of a portfolio like his would have required that the minister of foreign affairs be referred to in the papers as "silently and vigilantly on duty at his post." Furthermore, Mr. Bryan has continued, through these two years of his secretaryship, to run his political periodical known as the *Commoner*. Nor has he left its readers in doubt as to his immense activity in the conduct of this organ.

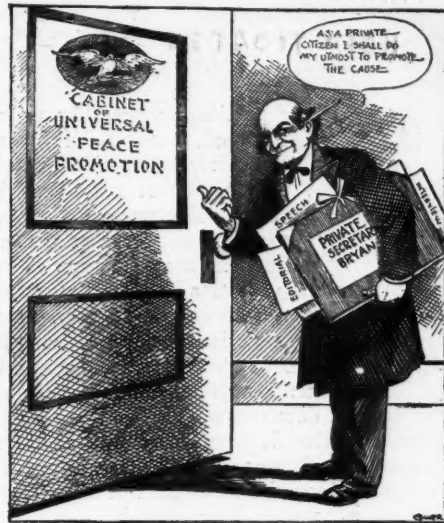
As Editor  
of the  
*Commoner*

Each month it has fairly teemed with editorials signed "W. J. Bryan." These have had the shockingly free and dashing tone of the most unrestrained partisan editor of the old school.

They have lambasted the Republicans, whether as a party or as individuals. Never in the history of America has a Secretary of State openly carried on outside activities that were so far from the supposed traditions and dignities of the office as Mr. Bryan's rough-and-tumble signed editorial screeds that have appeared in vast numbers in the successive issues of the *Commoner*. This editorializing has evidently been done as the minor, side task of a vigorous and exuberant personage, to whom politics is as the breath of his nostrils, and who could not allow himself to be restrained from having his word upon every matter pending in Congress, or in the different States, or in the courts of law. In his May number, for example, besides many other signed editorials, he deals with the case of Barnes *versus* Roosevelt with delightful impartiality, averring the political badness of both of these men who,—not belonging to the Democratic party,—are equally to be regarded as public enemies. This rollicking partisanship of Bryan's belongs to the methods of thirty years ago. It ill becomes a Secretary of State in this serious epoch.

*Bryan  
Had Been  
Superseded*

Nothing quite like Mr. Bryan's withdrawal from a harmonious Cabinet at a critical moment has happened in our political annals. Lincoln and Seward differed greatly at times; but our foreign business was done through the Department of State, and the differences were not published in the newspapers. We now know that Mr. Lincoln had a good deal to do with the penning or revision of important diplomatic notes, but it was not known at the time. Our system contemplates the carrying on of executive business through the Cabinet officers, and Mr. Wilson has been our foremost advocate of such a system. When, therefore, he openly and avowedly superseded the Secretary of State in the preparation of diplomatic papers and in consultation with Ambassadors, it was evident that he could not accomplish the things that he believed to be necessary through the Department head; and this of itself should have been regarded as equivalent to a dismissal or to a request for resignation. In arranging his Cabinet, Mr. Wilson had two objects: (1) the leadership and control of the Democratic party for the sake of obtaining united action upon a legislative program; (2) the efficient conduct of the business of the several departments. Mr. Bryan was the leader of the party faction that triumphed in the Baltimore convention,



THE NEW SECRETARYSHIP  
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)

and his personal work secured Mr. Wilson's nomination. If Mr. Bryan had been in the Senate, or in the House as Speaker or floor leader,—he could have coöperated with the work of the Administration and would not have gone into the Cabinet. From the standpoint of party unity, it seemed best to Mr. Wilson to have Mr. Bryan in the Cabinet, and this meant the foremost place.

*Our Recent  
Foreign  
Policies*

It was largely owing to Mr. Bryan's influence and efforts that the party was held together to pass the tariff bill, the currency bill, the trade commission bill, and other parts of the Administration program. But when it came to the important duties of his department, it has not seemed that the President at any time relied chiefly upon his Secretary of State. The Mexican policy, including the seizure of Vera Cruz and the subsequent withdrawal, has from the first been regarded as Wilson's rather than Bryan's. The sharp reversal of attitude as respects the rights of our coastwise trade in the Panama Canal, with the acceptance of English contentions that had been rejected by Taft and Knox, was regarded as Wilson's and not Bryan's policy. It has been highly unfortunate that during the past year, when every other nation has found it necessary to put its department of foreign affairs in the hands of men of great experience and weight, this country should have had as Secretary of State a man not regarded by his own chief as com-

petent to write diplomatic notes or handle delicate situations. The Secretary should be better qualified than the President.

*Parties  
Forgotten*

Our parties are not, like those of England, essential divisions. Ours are rival organizations of politicians. When matters of great gravity arise, such as may involve peace and war, this country cannot be ruled by a party, because party distinctions are forgotten. For the Secretaryship of State Mr. Wilson ought to have the best man in the country. He will make a mistake if he believes that it is wise for him to be President and Secretary of State at the same time. Our system of government does not work upon those lines. Obviously the department should have its counselors and assistants, and effective organization. Upon the retirement of Mr. John Bassett Moore as Counselor of the State Department, at the end of the first year of this Administration, Mr. Robert Lansing, of Watertown, N. Y., was appointed in his place. In our issue for April, 1915, we published an excellent article by Dr. James Brown Scott, setting forth Mr. Lansing's exceptional value and ability in the department. He has already taken high rank as an authority upon points of international law, and his immediate appointment by President Wilson as "Secretary ad interim," to take Mr. Bryan's place until a permanent appointment should be made, was regarded on all hands as the right step to take. It is not necessary to mention the names that ru-

mor was last month associating with the appointment. There was a somewhat general feeling that unless Mr. Lane or Mr. Garrison should be transferred to the post it would be hard to find as suitable a Secretary as Mr. Lansing himself, though he may or may not belong in the ranks of the Democratic party, so far as the public has ever heard. He is evidently a good American, a trained diplomat, and a competent official. Who cares what party ticket he has usually voted? But, if named, he should be Secretary in fact.

*The Justly  
Praised "Bryan  
Treaties"*

Since resigning, Mr. Bryan has been in his proper sphere, and everybody is the gainer. His talks about the war and about the making of peace and its future safeguards have been eminently wise and sensible. The newspaper assertions that he was going out to fight the President, split the Democratic party, and become a rival candidate for the nomination, have not been justified by any word or act of the great campaigner. He has been proclaiming the value of those treaties of his which call for investigation and delay before the outbreak of war between nations. In the days to come, it will appear that Mr. Bryan had really done one great and splendid piece of work as Secretary of State, in that he had secured the signature of about thirty treaties between the United States and other countries, requiring that unsettled disputes should be submitted to impartial inquiry, and that in all cases there should be an interval of a full year for mediation or arbitration before resort to arms. He very justly says that if the issue between Austria and Serbia had thus been dealt with, the present war would have been avoided. We are certainly bound by our own treaties and proposals; and it is impossible to imagine that this country would go to war upon any defined issues without being willing to adopt the method of settlement which we have been urging upon the entire world for just such emergencies.

*Certain Views  
and  
Methods*

Mr. Bryan must have been mistaken in supposing that the President would hesitate to adopt such plans in case of a difference with Germany. What the newspapers, and also Mr. Bryan, do not seem to remember, is that there has not yet arisen any specific and unsolvable differences with Germany. We are engaged in the diplomatic treatment of certain principles and incidents, with a view to settling them by direct diplomatic negotiation. We have not yet arrived at the point



SHIP-OF STATE

THE PRESIDENT AT THE HELM  
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

of needing to invoke courts of inquiry or boards of arbitration. Mr. Bryan further thinks that the Government should not have permitted American citizens to travel on belligerent ships, or upon those carrying ammunition. Here again he seems to be right in his objects, but mistaken in proposed methods. There are plenty of people besides the President of the United States capable of advising people not to be reckless or foolish, nor needlessly to embarrass the Government. There has never been any time when, as a man of influence, or as a high official, it was not Mr. Bryan's privilege to advise and warn Americans to keep away from European war dangers in so far as possible. This is exactly the kind of advice the administration has given Americans with regard to war troubles and dangers in Mexico. Surely the Secretary of State is a high enough official to say what he pleases to Americans on subjects of that kind without consulting the President or anybody else. But this was a minor matter, quite apart from the main issue with which President Wilson was dealing. Mr. Bryan's statement involves a confusion as between sensible warning and legal prohibition.

**"Force and Persuasion"**

All that Mr. Bryan says as to the difference between force and persuasion in the dealings of nations is sound and true. But the second note to Germany,—unlike the first one, which Bryan signed,—seems to follow the rule of persuasion, and not to embody an ultimatum. One of the most distinguished of American citizens remarked in private talk, late in May, that it was the *Gulflight* case, not the *Lusitania*, that had endangered peace between Germany and the United States. But Germany's note of June 1 is accepted by the President as satisfactory in respect to the *Gulflight* and the *Cushing*. The most important of Mr. Bryan's serial statements of last month was that issued to the German-Americans. It must now seem obvious to everybody that a strict insistence by our Government upon the rights of neutral commerce, from the very beginning of the war, would have been to the advantage of all nations, and would probably have prevented the launching by Germany of her submarine campaign against merchant ships. Our failure to follow up vigorously the position taken by us in the so-called "identic note" of February 20, to England and Germany, and our unexplained delay in dealing with questions still at issue between our Department



BONDS TO BIND A BROKEN WORLD  
From the *News* (St. Paul)

of State and the British foreign office, have made it far more difficult to deal with Germany than would otherwise have been the case. Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, would have done well to send a very "firm" note to Sir Edward Grey not later than the middle of last March.

**Mexico Again Warned**

At the beginning of June, our Government began to take open notice once more of conditions in Mexico. The President issued an important statement which, stripped of polite phrases, warned the several factional leaders in Mexico that they must come together or the United States would intervene. The warring factions are told to "set up a government at Mexico City which the great powers of the world can recognize and deal with—a government with whom the program of the revolution will be a business and not merely a platform." The address concludes with the following sentence:

I feel it to be my duty to tell them that if they cannot accommodate their differences and unite for this great purpose within a very short time, this Government will be constrained to decide what means should be employed by the United States in order to help Mexico save herself and serve her people.

There has been a considerable movement of the Red Cross Society for the relief of the widespread destitution in Mexico. Crops have not been planted in many districts, and there are reports of dreadful misery and



From the News (St. Paul)

starvation. The forces of Carranza and Villa have been contending stubbornly, and since the President issued his statement our authorities at Washington have apparently fallen back into their old plan of waiting to see which one of the factions would get the better of the others and win some claim to to be recognized and dealt with by outside governments. There was report of a small expedition of marines under Admiral Howard, commanding our Pacific Coast squadron, to protect an American colony in northwest Mexico from the Yaqui Indians. There were those who intimated that renewed concern as to Mexico was intended to divert American attention from the strained relations with Germany, while also it might have the effect of ascertaining this country's sentiment regarding a suitable Mexican policy.

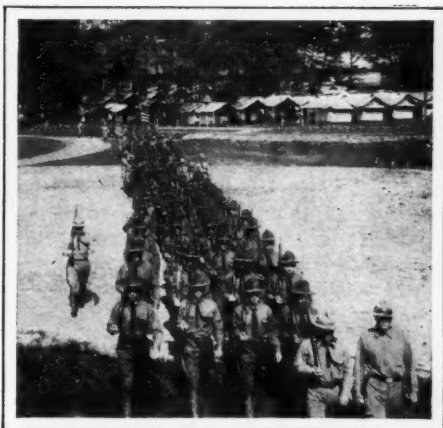
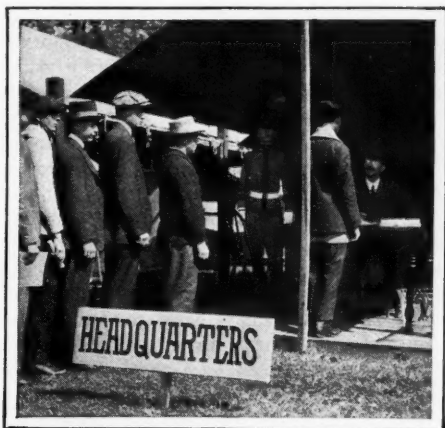
#### Our South American Relations

There are some to whom it seems regrettable that the frank association of the leading South American governments with our own in the discussion of Mexican affairs, a little more than a year ago, should not be resumed this year. From many standpoints the time is ripe for closer relationships with our South American neighbors. Brazil, Argentina, and Chile have entered into a new treaty for the strengthening of their neighborly relations. These and other South American countries have eminent international lawyers, and could well be brought into conference with our Government on all questions affecting

neutrals, as well as those relating to the amity and progress of the Western Hemisphere. Secretary McAdoo's Pan-American Conference on finance and trade is regarded as having proved a decided success. Committees were formed to take up the conditions and affairs of each country, and there will be far-reaching results. Secretary McAdoo and the administration will endeavor to promote in important ways the shipping facilities for our growing South American trade. The Secretary's closing address recommends an annual Pan-American Financial Conference in Washington. He urges the importance of the work of the international high commission, proposed by the committee on uniform legislation. The group committees were found so successful that Mr. McAdoo proposes to have them maintained permanently. Each committee is made up of representatives of a given country, together with a group of American business men. The conference adopted a resolution to the effect that improved ocean transportation facilities are a vital necessity, and governmental action in that direction is predicted. Not the least valuable part of the conference has been the personal friendships growing out of it. The South American visitors were welcomed not only in New York and Washington, but traveled somewhat extensively and were received with warm cordiality in a number of States and cities, seeing the United States in the pleasant days of May and June.



FOR FREEDOM OF THE SEAS  
From the Herald (New York)



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## GIVING SCHOOLBOYS THE RUDIMENTS OF MILITARY TRAINING

(Two hundred high-school students of Indiana were given an experimental course of two weeks' instruction and training at the Culver Military Academy, in May. The illustration at the left shows some of the boys upon their arrival, while the one on the right was made after two days at the camp)

"Millions  
for  
Defense!"

The popular agitation for the strengthening of the national military and naval defenses gained new headway last month. Public men and private citizens of many types and affiliations enrolled themselves in the movement throughout the country. It was noticeable that well-known advocates of international peace were enlisted in the cause of national preparedness. A new impetus was given to General Wood's scheme for student military instruction camps by the success of a two-weeks' experiment at the Culver Military Academy, Indiana, in which two hundred high-school boys, selected from the various counties of Indiana, were brought together, organized into a battalion of four companies, and put through a hard daily schedule of drills, signaling, and other practical military duties. It was declared that as a result of the instruction thus received by these boys, whose ages ranged from fourteen to twenty, their drills at the end of the two weeks were superior to those of most National Guard organizations. Meanwhile, the Navy League has asked for a special session of Congress and an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for the army and navy, in order to build up both arms of the service. The superdreadnought *Arizona*, the largest of American battleships, was launched at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on June 19, and it was announced during the month that there are now nearing completion for the navy two superdreadnoughts, five destroyers, and six submarines. The *Arizona* has a displacement of 34,400 tons, and will have cost when completed about \$16,000,000.

A New Use  
for  
"The Fourth"

The success of the "Citizenship Reception" and "New Voters' Days," recently held by the cities of Philadelphia, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Los Angeles, suggested the setting apart of the coming Fourth of July as Americanization Day for the 13,000,000 immigrants in the United States. With a view to enlisting the interest of as many cities as possible in this observance of the day, Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, addressed a circular letter to mayors throughout the country suggesting that each mayor appoint a committee to arrange suitable exercises in connection with the local Fourth of July celebration. The chief purpose of this new element in the program of Independence Day is to give dignity to the formal admission of aliens to American citizenship. It will, of course, be impracticable to have the legal steps in the process of naturalization completed on that day in the majority of cases, but the names and addresses of aliens admitted to citizenship during the preceding year may be obtained through the clerks of naturalization and invitations may be sent to each new citizen. At Cleveland last year small American flags and seal buttons of the city with the word "citizen" upon them were presented to all who showed tickets to the reception, and the new citizens were seated on a platform decorated with the flags of all nations. A large American flag was unfurled while "The Star-Spangled Banner" was sung and the "pledge of allegiance" recited in unison. National, State, and city officials and a prominent foreign-born citizen made addresses.



OUR FOREIGN-BORN CITIZENS ARE ALL FOR "AMERICA FIRST"

By "Bart," in the *News* (St. Paul)

*The Suggestion  
Widely  
Adopted*

More than fifty mayors immediately responded to Mr. Howe's letter, and cities with large immigrant population, such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Jersey City, Boston, and Wilkes-barre, joined in accepting the suggestion. The city of Boston will hold its New Citi-

zens' Reception in the historic Faneuil Hall, while in New York City the reception will be held in the new stadium recently presented to the College of the City of New York by Adolph Lewisohn. Such gatherings on the great national holiday will help enforce the precept so clearly expressed by President Wilson in his address at Philadelphia on a similar occasion in May: "America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American." Even for native-born Americans this new form of observance of the day is likely to give to the Fourth of July, 1915, a new and richer meaning.

The article by Mr. William H. Hotchkiss, beginning on page 77 of this REVIEW, not only explains the changes in the New York Workmen's Compensation Law, but defines and illustrates the principles on which are based the compensation laws of many other States. The series of six bills passed by the recent Pennsylvania legislature, but still awaiting the approval of Governor Brumbaugh when Mr. Hotchkiss' article was closed for the press, form the most important legislation of this kind for the current year. These laws permit employers to accept or reject the State's compensation plan, but for such as



Photograph by Bain News Service

#### NEW STADIUM AT THE CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK

(On May 29 the Greek Stadium, given to the City College by Adolph Lewisohn, was dedicated, and on July 4 it will be the scene of a great "Americanization Day" celebration)

elect not to accept the plan the old common-law defenses are eliminated. Compensation for injuries and death is based upon 50 per cent. of the weekly wage, and extends over periods ranging up to 400 weeks. These laws, together with the excellent child-labor enactment, on which we commented last month, were passed in the face of bitter opposition from important industrial interests in the State, and the fact that they are now on the statute-books is to be credited to the persistent and intelligent efforts of Governor Brumbaugh.

*Governor  
Brumbaugh*

Possibly our readers west of the Alleghanies need to be reminded of the fact that the real achievements of the current year in progressive legislation must be credited to that stronghold of high-tariff Republicanism, the State of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of an unbossed Republican governor. In no other State have the forces of reaction been so decisively repulsed, and that by a Governor elected as a partisan by a strictly party vote. In our January number Dr. Oberholtzer outlined some of the qualities of leadership that had brought about the success of Governor Brumbaugh in the election, and that pointed to a successful career as Pennsylvania's chief executive. It is fair to say that this forecast has been fully realized during the Governor's six months' incumbency. He has stood out courageously as a champion of human rights and the general welfare against private interests, however powerful; and this attitude he has consistently maintained, not merely in the advocacy and approval of bills, but in the vetoing of not a few measures that were particularly desired by the "interests" and by the politicians. In his reorganization of the State Public Service Commission he has shown his purpose to make that branch of the State administration a real and vital force in safeguarding the interests of the community as against those of the corporations. It has been said that this new commission is the first appointive body in Pennsylvania allowed to pass upon questions affecting corporations that has not been in large measure named by those interests. The Keystone State evidently has a Governor of large caliber.

*General  
Welfare Laws*

The summarized results of this year's law-making do not show any remarkable gains in social or welfare legislation, so-called. Something of a check to this form of activity has been

applied throughout the country. Here and there, conditions having become at last intolerable, State legislatures have responded to local appeals and have taken radical action. Thus the Missouri legislature entered the fight against tuberculosis in that State, making provision for State-aided county hospitals and permitting city councils and county courts to employ visiting nurses for tuberculosis patients. Having made these measures applicable to the State as a whole, the legislature passed three bills applying to the lead and zinc mine districts where the tuberculosis death-rate is extremely high,—46 per 10,000. These bills provide for the suppression of dust in the mines, for individual drinking-cups and sanitary devices, and for adequate bathing facilities and dressing-rooms for the miners, the aim being to prevent the transmission of the disease through mine dust. In Nebraska one of the new laws prohibits contract labor in the State penitentiary, substituting State industries, giving instructive employment for prisoners in the making of articles in use in State institutions, or "generally of any article whose manufacture will involve a minimum of competition with free labor." Inmates of the penitentiary may also be employed in building other State institutions and may be contracted out to counties and cities for building roads or public buildings. There is also a new requirement in Nebraska that work shall be provided for prisoners in county and municipal jails. Texas now has a compulsory school-attendance law, and South Carolina gives local option to school districts in the matter of making attendance compulsory.

*The  
New York  
Constitution*

The New York Constitutional Convention in session at Albany, having reached the end of the period allotted for the introduction of amendments, has given much time during the past month to hearings on several of the more important proposals before its committees. Thus ex-President Taft appeared as an advocate of the Short Ballot, and Chief Judge Bartlett, of the Court of Appeals, and Justice Ingraham, of the Appellate Division, spoke for and against the retention of an elective judiciary. The argument for the executive appointment of judges has in past years been strongly reinforced, it must be admitted, by the experience of New York City, where judicial elections have often been mere forms, Tammany nominations having been secured in many instances through the payment of large sums to the campaign funds. In seek-

ing a way of escape from such a system, it is not strange that many able and disinterested members of the bar have reasoned that the appointment of judges by a Governor upon whom responsibility could be placed would be preferable to the existing system of partisan nominations paid for by campaign contributions. It seems probable, however, that the people of the State, as a whole, would protest strongly against the surrender of their long-established privilege of electing their own judges. The convention paused in its labors to commemorate the 700th anniversary of Magna Charta on June 15. Suitable addresses were made by President Root and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. It was impressed on the delegates that the greatest duty of this or any similar body is the safeguarding of human liberty. As Mr. Root pointed out, the Great Charter asserted the rights of the citizen as against his government.

*Reactionary  
Trend*

So far as the temper of the convention may be judged from the action of its various committees, no radical changes are to be expected. In sharp contrast with the procedure of the Ohio Convention of 1913, the New York Convention leaders have shown a disposition to take extreme measures to check such progressive tendencies as may appear in future. Thus the Committee on Legislative Powers has made known its purpose to support an amendment that would forbid the legislature to pass workmen's compensation or minimum wage bills, or any measure limiting the hours of labor. Surely reaction could go no farther. An effort has been made before the Committee on Suffrage to put in the Constitution a prohibition, or limitation, of the direct-primary system,—a matter which, it would seem, might very well be left to the discretion of the legislature. To see the working out of tendencies directly opposite to those observable at Albany, we have only to turn to the neighboring State of Massachusetts, where the legislature has just passed and submitted to popular vote a constitutional amendment authorizing the taking of land to relieve congestion and "to provide homes for the people." This means that the State of Massachusetts is considering the policy of giving its citizens better housing under the direction of the State or the municipality. The State has already taken the lead in relieving unemployment through appropriations for work in the Forestry Department and under the Metropolitan Park Commission.

*A Civil  
War  
Legacy*

A decision of the United States Supreme Court, last month, ended a controversy of more than fifty years' standing between the States of Virginia and West Virginia over the apportionment of the public debt of the old State as it stood before the division took place at the time of the Civil War. It was found that West Virginia's share of the debt was \$4,215,000, with accrued interest of \$8,175,000. The basis of computation was obtained by apportioning 23½ per cent. of the total public debt of the old State to West Virginia, since it was conceded that such was her proportion of the total resources at the time of the separation. Justice Hughes, who read the opinion, held that West Virginia should pay 4 per cent. interest for the period 1861-'91, 3 per cent. thereafter, computed up to the date when the decree becomes effective, and 5 per cent. from that date until the judgment is paid. As an incident of her "readjustment" policy, many years ago, Virginia issued certificates for West Virginia's share of the bonded debt and the holders of those certificates will now receive the \$12,000,000 to be paid over by the latter State. The whole episode forms an interesting foot-note to Civil War history.

*A Mayor and  
a Strike*

For two days last month over 14,000 employees of the surface and elevated car lines of Chicago were on strike for an increase in wages and better working conditions. Even in the preliminary stages of the dispute, Mayor Thompson appealed to both sides to accept arbitration, and after the men had been called out continued his efforts to secure an agreement. After an all-night session in his office between representatives of the labor unions and the traction companies, it was finally agreed that all the matters in dispute, should be submitted to a board of arbitration consisting of three members, one to be chosen by the men, one by the traction companies, and one by the general public. Mayor Thompson himself was chosen as the third arbitrator. As soon as this agreement was signed the men on all the lines were ordered back to work, and it was agreed that if the award should be in favor of the men the increased wages and other concessions should be effective from the date of the calling of the strike. This prompt and effective action on the part of Mayor Thompson released the city of Chicago from a most unpleasant situation. The question is, Can such a crisis be averted in future?

*The Steel  
Trust  
Decision*

On June 3, the United States District Court of New Jersey handed down a unanimous decision, refusing the petition of the Government to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation. This effort to invoke the Sherman Anti-Trust Law against the largest single corporation in the world is so important in the history of business regulation that it is worth while to review briefly the record of the case. The suit against the Corporation was filed in the autumn of 1911 by Attorney-General Wickersham in President Taft's administration, after numerous Congressional and other investigations of the business methods and policies of the Steel Trust. In Mr. Wickersham's petition the Corporation, its subsidiaries and a score or more individuals were named as defendants. The main charges by the Government were that the Corporation was formed to monopolize the steel business; that its capitalization was about 40 per cent. water; that the absorption during the panic of 1907 of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company pointed toward illegal monopoly; and that the acquisition of the Rockefeller Lake Superior iron mines and the Frick coking lands in Pennsylvania were further steps in establishing an impregnable monopoly. Hearings in the case were begun on May 6, 1912, and the suit was argued in October of 1914. The testimony made up fifty-six volumes, containing nearly 16,000 printed pages, and lawyers estimate that the cost of the suit is already one million dollars, divided nearly equally between the Government and the defendant United States Steel Corporation.

*A Complete  
Victory for the  
Corporation*

In the epoch-making decision handed down last month, the Corporation defeated all the contentions of the Government, and the four judges were unanimous in approving this result, though two of them arrived at it by steps of reasoning slightly different from those taken by their associates. This successful termination of the Corporation's defense did not come as a surprise to careful and well-informed observers of the proceedings in the case. It had been clearly proved that while in the first ten years of its existence the Corporation had increased its business some 40 per cent., its most direct competitors had grown much more rapidly. For instance, the Bethlehem Company had increased its business over 3000 per cent.; the Cambria Steel Company, 155 per cent.; the Lackawanna, 63 per cent., and the Republic



"I FEEL BETTER ALREADY!"

("Business" finds the steel decision to be a miraculous medicine)

From the *Tribune* (New York)

Iron and Steel Company, 90 per cent. Therefore, at the various hearings held in nine different cities, many of the direct competitors of the Steel Corporation had testified enthusiastically in its behalf, as did also several of its customers. In general, the New Jersey Court stated very positively and clearly that the mere absolute bigness of the defendant's business was no offense against the Sherman Law; and that in the ten years of the Corporation's existence up to the time of bringing the suit, the company's policies and methods had not produced unfair or dangerous consequences, whatever may have been the purposes in the minds of its promoters at the time it was formed. Practically the only matter of criticism that can be found in the decision relates to the committee meetings regulating prices, held after the so-called "Gary dinners"; but this practise had ceased before the suit for dissolution was brought.

*The Country  
Applauds the  
Decision*

The new temper of the country toward big business and repressive legislation was shown somewhat strikingly in the widespread and uniform approval of the Steel Trust's victory. It was obvious that such an event would be highly encouraging to Wall Street, and the security markets promptly responded to the news with great activity and advancing prices. But the country at large seemed to

view the decision that its greatest business concern was an honorable and legal institution with as uniform, if not with as intense, interest and approval as that which was shown in financial circles. The clean bill of health given the great Steel Corporation was the more encouraging to business men because of its coming so soon after the dismissal of the Government suit seeking to dissolve the United Shoe Machinery Company, and about the same time as the decision of the Supreme Court which favored the officials of the National Cash Register Company by refusing to review the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals, reversing their conviction. The opinion was generally held that the action of the New Jersey court in the Steel case augured well for the defense of the American Can Company and the Corn Products Company. Suits for their dissolution are the next important trust cases on the court calendars.

Will Government  
Appeal  
Steel Case?

Attorney-General Gregory has been quoted as saying that the decision at Trenton in favor of the Steel Corporation would undoubtedly be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. There are business men who feel that on the showing of the Corporation in its successful fight a final favorable decision from the Supreme Court is a foregone conclusion, and that it would be, on the whole, an advantage to the country and to business to carry the case up for a verdict from the court of final resort. Certainly, it would seem, in view of the unanimity of the New Jersey court and of the country's strong feeling, that there is no other wise reason to continue further the prosecution of the Steel Trust and its officials. The Trust was a gigantic industrial enterprise successfully and courageously undertaken and carried out, especially in its development of our export trade in steel and its manufactures. In Mr. Taft's administration the Government brought itself to believe that the vast enterprise was offending the laws of the United States, and instituted a suit for dissolution based on a large number of specified offenses. When, after four years of legal struggle, vast and costly testimony and arguments, every judge of the regularly constituted federal court decides that the Trust is not offensive in any single instance as charged by the Government,—and when the country at large is most heartily desirous of going about its business without unnecessary interruptions,—it is difficult to understand

any official zeal for prosecuting the case further. One prefers not to call it "politics."

Pacific Steam-  
ship Lines Going  
Out of Business

Americans will not read with a great deal of enthusiasm the announcement that as a result of the LaFollette Seamen's Act, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, with its thirteen splendid vessels, the Robert Dollar Line and the Great Northern Steamship *Minnesota*, the largest freight carrier under the American flag, will all, next November, go out of business as American ocean cargo carriers. The measure bearing Senator LaFollette's name embodies a number of provisions which, in the aggregate, lead the men conducting our ocean-carrying trade on the Pacific to the conclusion that it will be impossible to do business under the new law. The most important of the new restrictions is that no ship "shall be permitted to depart from any port of the United States unless she has on board a crew, not less than 75 per cent. of which in each department thereof are able to understand any orders given by the officers of such vessel." This and other clauses of the new law are supposed to be devised in the interest of American labor. The provisions are such, however, as can only be met by the subsidized Japanese steamship lines; and it is generally considered that the net result of the LaFollette measure will be the acquisition by the Japanese of a monopoly of trade between our Pacific ports and the Orient. The law goes into effect on November 2. It would require an ingenious mind to discern in the



TO PEDDING THE REMNANT OF OUR MERCHANT MARINE WITH THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMEN'S BILL  
From the Sun (New York)

general hauling down on that date of the American flag on American merchant vessels any final advantage to labor in the United States. We have been attempting to revive our merchant marine through the Ship Registry Bill and the more liberal tariff, but the factor of sailors' wages has made operation of ocean-going ships under the American flag very costly. In the Pacific service the crews have been most largely made up of Chinese and Japanese. The restrictions prescribed by the LaFollette Law as to language, experience, conditions on shipboard, and the number of men to be employed read very well, but do not get a single job for an American able seaman, and simply tend to throttle both American labor and capital in the ocean-carrying trade.

*A Wonderful  
Crop Year Now  
Seems Certain*

The Government forecast of the year's crops, based on reports from every section of the country on conditions as of June 1, gives a total wheat crop for 1915 of 950,000,000 bushels, exceeding the record-breaking yield of last year by 59,000,000 bushels. The outlook for corn and oats, too, is highly encouraging. The estimate for the yield of oats is the largest on record, 1,288,000,000 bushels, and, though there is no official forecast as yet of the corn crop, all private estimates agree that there is an increase of area over the planting of last year, which produced the largest crop in history; and that prospects are excellent everywhere except in limited areas in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma.

*Metals  
at War  
Prices*

If it is difficult to understand, in the face of Europe's devastating war, the prevailing optimistic mood of Americans as to business conditions immediately before us, perhaps the most satisfying explanation is suggested by the fact noted in the preceding paragraph that for a second year our farms are producing unprecedentedly bountiful crops, together with the scarcely less important fact that the demands of the warring countries for metals, especially copper, lead, and zinc, will have us selling to Europe the products of our mines, too, at war prices. By the middle of June, copper metal, which was selling for only a little over 11 cents per pound last August, was bringing 20½ cents, with the demand unsatisfied. Lead was selling in huge quantities at the highest price in thirty years, and zinc was in such demand, at phenomenal war prices, that the brassmakers were puzzled to obtain adequate supplies.

*Medical  
Research in  
America*

The field of advanced medical research is one in which the State universities have thus far been able to accomplish little, but by great good fortune the University of Minnesota seems likely to take, within a year, a place in the front rank of institutions devoted to this work. The Board of Regents has accepted an offer of Drs. William J. and Charles H. Mayo, by which the resources of the Mayo Foundation, of Rochester, Minn., are at once made available to the University, thus practically securing an endowment of \$2,000,000 and unexcelled equipment for medical investigation. The arrangement is to continue for six years and at the end of that period the University will assume full control. The remarkable surgical work conducted by the brothers Mayo for many years at Rochester has attracted world-wide attention and their splendid gift to the cause of research will doubtless win the respect and coöperation of the medical profession in both hemispheres. The University of Minnesota is entering this new field under brilliant auspices. Meanwhile, plans have been made public for the creation of a great center of medical learning at New York City through an alliance between the Presbyterian Hospital and Columbia University, with the erection of hospital and college buildings. The cost of the project is estimated at over \$16,000,000 and it will give to America a seat of medical education comparable with those at Paris, Vienna, and Berlin.

*Educating  
China in  
Medicine*

The Rockefeller Foundation, of New York, is about to launch a project that far excels in magnitude any earlier philanthropies, vast as others have been. It is attempting nothing less than the medical regeneration of a nation. Starting with the Union Medical College, at Peking, as a nucleus, the Foundation proposes to plant a system of medical colleges and hospitals throughout China under the management of an American as resident director (Dr. Roger S. Greene). Appropriations will be made to certain schools already in existence and others will be acquired by the Foundation. Best of all, modern surgical and medical methods will be introduced in those regions where there are now no facilities whatever for the scientific treatment of disease. This magazine has more than once alluded to the generous gifts of the General Education Board to the Johns Hopkins University and other institutions in the interest of medical research in this country.



Photograph by Press Illustrating Co.

#### AN ART EXHIBITION IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL

(The famous exhibitions of paintings have not been abandoned in Paris. President Poincaré is here shown at the formal opening of the spring Salon. Many of the exhibits are the work of artists now at the front, and a number were actually made on the battlefields and in the trenches)



Photograph by Press Illustrating Co.

#### CONSTRUCTING A SUBWAY IN THE GERMAN CAPITAL

(Returning travelers have maintained that the every-day life of Berlin bears little evidence of the great war going on all around the empire. The illustration shows that civic improvements have not been suspended, although there is said to be a scarcity of skilled labor)

**ART AND INDUSTRY CONTINUE, AWAY FROM THE BATTLE LINES**

# RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From May 21 to June 19, 1915)

## The Last Part of May

May 21.—The Italian Senate ratifies, by vote of 262 to 2, the action of the Chamber of Deputies in conferring upon the cabinet full power to make war.

May 22.—King Victor Emmanuel, of Italy, sanctions the law conferring extraordinary powers upon the cabinet, and issues a decree ordering full mobilization of the army and navy.

May 23.—Italy formally declares that a state of war with Austria-Hungary will exist from May 24.

May 24.—Both Austria and Italy open hostilities; Austrian warships and aeroplanes bombard the arsenal at Venice and other places on the Adriatic Coast, while Italian troops cross the border into Austria at several points.

The Austro-German armies under General von Mackensen resume their offensive north of Przemyśl, after a lull of several days, and report the capture of 21,000 Russians.

May 25.—The personnel of the new British coalition cabinet is announced; 12 are Liberals, 8 Unionists, 1 Laborite, and 1 non-partisan.

The British battleship *Triumph* is torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine in the Dardanelles, while supporting troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

The American freight steamer *Nebraskan*, outward bound from Liverpool, is seriously damaged by a torpedo or mine off the south coast of Ireland, but is able to return to port.

May 27.—The British battleship *Majestic* is torpedoed and sunk by a submarine in the Dardanelles while supporting the army.

The *Princess Irene*, a British auxiliary warship, is blown to pieces while at anchor at the mouth of the Thames, the explosion being apparently internal; only one man survives, out of 425.

Admiral Sir Henry Bradwardine Jackson (Chief of Staff of the British Navy) is appointed First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, succeeding Admiral Lord Fisher, who resigned.

Italian troops cross the Isonzo River, the great natural barrier protecting Trieste from a land attack.

May 28.—Germany replies to the American note regarding submarine warfare against merchant ships; the reply seeks to establish a common basis of fact regarding the status of the *Lusitania*, and reserves final statement of the German position until an answer is received.

May 31.—Germany officially acknowledges that the American steamer *Gulflight* was sunk (on May 1) by a German submarine whose commander did not see the American flag until the order to fire had been given.

The British Admiralty reports that 130 British merchant ships have been sunk since the beginning of the war,—56 by enemy cruisers, 12 by mines, and 62 by submarines.

Italian and Austrian reports indicate that the Italian invasion of the Trentino is proceeding from the east, south, and west, and has reached a point within ten miles of Trent itself.

Several German airships drop bombs in the East End of London, with much property damage but few casualties.

## The First Week of June

June 2.—The German General Staff reports that during May more than 300,000 Russians were



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL OF ITALY

(The King is constantly at the front with his troops. If the nature of the ground does not permit the use of his automobile, he travels on horseback or—in the mountainous districts—on foot. He is an enthusiastic Alpinist)

made prisoners by Austrian and German armies (mostly in the Galicia campaign).

June 3.—The continued Austro-German offensive in Galicia results in the recapture of the Austrian stronghold of Przemyśl (surrendered to the Russians on March 22), the Russian army retreating toward Lemberg; it is freely asserted that the Russians lack ammunition.

June 5.—A naval engagement is fought in the Baltic Sea, near the Gulf of Riga, with losses of small ships by both Russians and Germans.



VON MACKENSEN, GERMANY'S LATEST HERO

(Field-Marshal August von Mackensen was one of Hindenburg's lieutenants in campaigns in East Prussia and northern Poland, which resulted so disastrously to the Russians. To him alone, however, the official German reports have given credit for the masterful leadership of great Austro-German armies which have relieved Hungary and swept the Russians almost completely out of Austrian Galicia and back into their own territory.)

### The Second Week of June

June 6.—Captain Herzing, of the German submarine *U 51*, relates at Constantinople how his vessel made the journey from Wilhelmshaven to the Dardanelles (more than 3000 miles) in 42 days, at the end of which he sank the British battleships *Majestic* and *Triumph*.

June 6.—German airships carry out a night attack on the northeast coast of England, dropping bombs and causing the death of twenty-four persons.

June 7.—A British aviator (Reginald A. J. Warneford) attacks a German Zeppelin airship at a height of 6000 feet, between Brussels and Ghent, and destroys it with bombs.

June 8.—The American Secretary of State, William J. Bryan, resigns his office rather than join in sending to Germany the second note of protest, prepared by President Wilson, relating to submarine attacks without warning on merchant ships of American ownership or carrying American passengers.

An Italian airship is destroyed after an attack on Fiume; Austria claims that an armed aeroplane vanquished it, while Italy maintains that it ran short of fuel and was self-destructed.

June 9.—The United States replies to Germany's note of May 28, maintaining that the sinking of passenger ships by German submarines, without

warning, violates principles of humanity and of law; it asks for assurances that measures will be adopted to safeguard American lives and American ships.

Announcement is made by Premier Asquith that casualties in the British armies on the Continent and in the Mediterranean, from the beginning of the war to the end of May, total 50,342 killed, 153,980 wounded, and 53,747 missing.

The British Admiralty announces that another German submarine [the *U 14*] has been sunk, the crew being rescued.

A German official statement announces the occupation of Stanislaw, in Galicia south of Lemberg.

Italian troops, after several days of fighting, occupy Monfalcone, thereby severing one of two railway lines running to Trieste.

June 10.—The German army south of Lemberg suffers a temporary check by the Russians, and is forced back across the lower Dniester with heavy losses.

Two British torpedo-boats are sunk by a German submarine off the east coast of England.

The Russian General Staff reports successful operations on a vast scale against Turkish armies in the Caucasus.

June 11.—Italian troops complete their occupation of Gradisca, north of Monfalcone.

### The Third Week of June

June 13.—The German armies in Galicia, under General von Mackensen, renew their offensive movement north of the point where recently checked, and take Russian positions along a front of 43 miles.

June 15.—The British House of Commons votes \$1,250,000,000 for war expenditures (bringing the total war appropriations up to \$4,310,000,000); Premier Asquith states that the war is now costing Great Britain \$13,000,000 a day.

A German Zeppelin airship makes a second night raid on the northeast coast of England, sixteen persons being killed by bombs.

French aviators drop bombs on Karlsruhe, Germany, in retaliation for the bombardment by Germans of French and English coast towns.

June 16.—A French offensive, supported by the use of nearly 300,000 shells by artillery, carries German trenches near Souchez and at other points north of Arras.

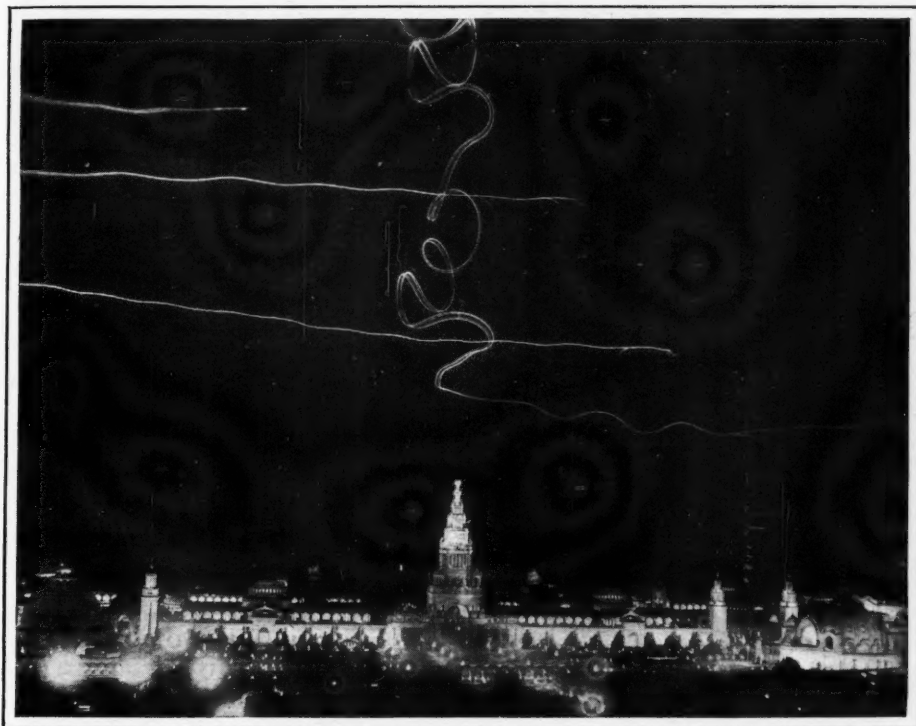
An official Austrian report claims the capture of 122,400 Russians between June 1 and June 15, besides many cannon and machine-guns.

June 17.—The Italian Minister of Marine announces that the Italian submarine *Medusa* has been torpedoed and sunk by an Austrian submarine, both vessels being on the surface.

Lieutenant Warneford, the British aviator who won fame by destroying a Zeppelin airship on June 7, loses his life during a test flight with an American correspondent near Paris.

June 18.—Germany reports that the Austro-German drive in Galicia has penetrated Russian territory, at Tarnograd.

Russia issues a detailed statement regarding the withdrawal in Galicia before superior numbers, and maintaining that in a single sector, between May 29 and June 15, the Austro-German losses were more than 120,000 men.



THE COURSE OF AN ILLUMINATED AEROPLANE MAKING EXHIBITION FLIGHTS AT NIGHT

(This unusual picture is a photographic record of a night flight by Art Smith, the Exposition aviator at San Francisco. The horizontal lines show the aviator's straight flights, the abrupt endings indicating where he temporarily shut off the power and the lights. The vertical spirals mark the course of the "looping the loop" feats. The long exposure rendered feasible by night photography made it possible to record the whole flight on a single negative)

## RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From May 21 to June 19, 1915)

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 22.—A jury at Syracuse returns a verdict for Colonel Roosevelt, in the suit for libel brought by William Barnes, Jr., the Republican leader.

May 26.—The United States Court of Customs Appeals holds that the 5 per cent. tariff discount on goods imported in American bottoms must apply also to goods imported in ships of countries having treaties calling for "favored nation" treatment; the decision, if upheld, will reduce tariff revenues by more than \$10,000,000 a year.

June 1.—Charles E. Sebastian (Chief of Police) is elected Mayor of Los Angeles.

June 3.—The United States Steel Corporation is held to be a lawful enterprise by the United States Circuit Court for New Jersey, and the Government's plea for dissolution of the combination (filed in October, 1911) is denied.

June 7.—Governor Brumbaugh signs bills passed by the Pennsylvania legislature, providing workmen's compensation and State insurance.

June 8.—William J. Bryan resigns the office of Secretary of State, being out of agreement with President Wilson's diplomatic policy toward Germany.

June 9.—The President designates Robert Lansing (Counselor for the State Department) to perform the duties of Secretary of State.

June 14.—The United States Supreme Court decides that West Virginia must assume a share of the public debt of Virginia, from which it separated in 1861; the amount involved is \$12,393,929, two-thirds being accrued interest. . . . In the National Cash Register case, the Supreme Court denies the Government's petition to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed criminal convictions of officials, obtained in a lower court.

### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 25.—The British Liberal ministry under Premier Asquith is reorganized on a coalition basis; ex-Premier Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, six other Unionists, and a Laborite are included.

May 29.—Theophile Braga is named, a well-known of Portugal by the National Assembly, succeeding Manuel de Arriaga, who resigned.

June 1.—The Japanese House approves the Government's military program, increasing the standing army by 24,000 men.

June 5.—The new Danish constitution is signed



ADMIRAL SIR HENRY BRADWARDINE JACKSON

(Who late in May was appointed First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty,—in active command of the British navy. Lord Fisher had resigned, from the post, it is said, owing to friction with the executive head, Mr. Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill in turn has been succeeded by Mr. Balfour)

by King Christian, and goes into effect; it reduces the political power of landholders and extends the suffrage to women.

June 6.—General Obregon, Carranza's military leader in Mexico, reports a decisive defeat of forces under Generals Villa and Angeles, in a five-days battle at Leon, northwest of Mexico City.

June 9.—The Mexican Constitutionalist Convention, in session at Mexico City, deposes Provisional President Garza and appoints Francisco Lagos Chazaro as his successor.

June 13.—Elections held throughout Greece result in a decided majority for the supporters of ex-Premier Venizelos, as against the followers of Premier Gounaris.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 24.—A Pan-American Financial Conference meets at Washington, to discuss means for promoting closer business relations among the Central and South American republics and the United States; important delegates from all the countries are present.

Representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Buenos Aires, sign a treaty designed to improve their political relations.

June 2.—President Wilson issues a statement calling upon the factions in Mexico to act together promptly for the relief of their country, else the United States will employ means to help Mexico save herself.

June 6.—Representatives of Russia, China, and Mongolia (according to a Peking report) conclude an agreement fixing the status of Mongolia, China retaining nominal suzerainty. . . . It is reported in Sweden that a treaty with Russia has been ratified by both countries, affirming mutual financial, commercial, and industrial interests.

June 16.—American warships are ordered to Tobari Bay, on the Pacific Coast of Mexico, to land marines and sailors, if necessary, to protect Americans menaced by marauding Yaqui Indians.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 22.—The most disastrous wreck in the history of British railways occurs near Carlisle, England, resulting in the death of more than 150 persons (mostly soldiers).

May 23.—Thomas A. Edison announces the completion of a device, known as the telescribe, which will record telephone conversations.

May 26.—The Holland-American liner *Ryndam* is seriously damaged by colliding with a freight steamer in a fog off Nantucket; the passengers and some of the crew are transferred to the battleship *South Carolina*.

May 31.—In an automobile race at Indianapolis, Ralph de Palma drives a Mercedes car 500 miles at the rate of 89.8 miles an hour, more than seven miles faster than the previous record.

June 5.—A report from Donald B. MacMillan, in the Arctic regions, declares that Crocker Land is merely a mirage.



Photograph by Harris &amp; Ewing, Washington, D. C.

MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR. (AT THE RIGHT),  
AND MR. F. W. MACKENZIE KING

(A snapshot taken in Washington, late in May, when they gave testimony regarding American labor matters before the Industrial Relations Commission. Mr. Mackenzie King was formerly Commissioner of Labor in Canada, and is now head of the Rockefeller Foundation's industrial research bureau)

June 12.—Dr. Herman C. Bumpus is inaugurated president of Tufts College.

June 14.—Fourteen thousand motormen and conductors on the surface and elevated railways of Chicago go on strike for higher pay, effecting a complete tie-up of the transportation system.

June 16.—The Chicago street-railway strike is ended through the efforts of Mayor Thompson; the differences will be settled by arbitration.

June 18.—The open golf championship of the United States is won by Jerome D. Travers, an amateur. . . . Two passengers are killed by the fall of an aeroplane near Boston, the aviator being seriously injured.

June 19.—The superdreadnought battleship *Arizona* is launched at the New York Navy Yard.

#### OBITUARY

May 23.—Pierre Martin, the French inventor of a steel-making process in world-wide use.

May 25.—Emlin McClain, former Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, 64. . . . Rev. William Mansfield Groton, dean of the Philadelphia Divinity School, 65.

May 26.—Thomas Jefferson Brown, Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court, 79. . . . George M. Seiders, a prominent Maine lawyer and former Attorney-General, 71.

May 27.—Judge Robert T. Daniel, of Georgia, Sovereign Grand Sire of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 57. . . . Ransford D. Bucknam (Bucknam Pacha), the American sailor who reorganized the Turkish Navy, 46.

May 28.—Samuel Dickson, a distinguished Philadelphia lawyer, 78.

May 29.—John Griffith McCullough, former Governor of Vermont, 79. . . . John E. Humphries, Judge of the Superior Court of Washington, 63. . . . James William Pattison, the painter and art lecturer of Chicago, 71.

May 30.—Clarence Walker Seamans, the typewriter manufacturer, 61.

May 31.—John W. Alexander, the artist, 58. . . . George D. Barnard, the St. Louis merchant and philanthropist, 69. . . . Victor Albert George Villiers, Earl of Jersey, 70.

June 1.—Eliot Gregory, a New York portrait painter and author, 60.

June 2.—Sir Arthur Herbert Church, a noted English chemist, 81. . . . Benjamin Franklin Dutton, said to have originated the department-store idea, in Massachusetts, 83.

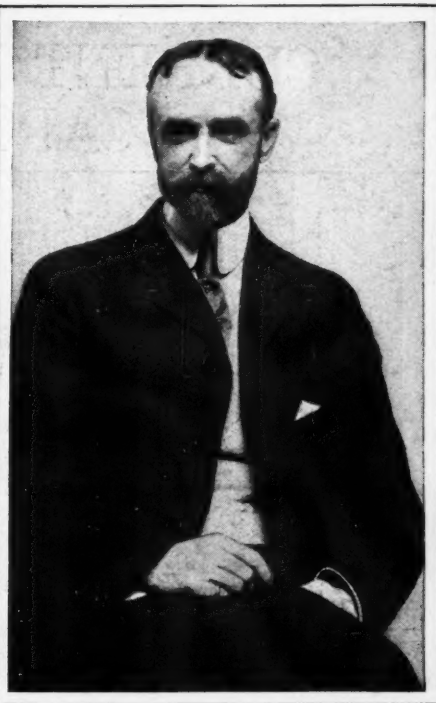
June 3.—Charles F. Libby, of Portland, Me., ex-president of the American Bar Association, 71. . . . Dr. Samuel Baldwin Ward, an eminent physician of Albany, N. Y., 73. . . . DeWitt Clinton Blair, formerly a prominent New York banker, 82.

June 4.—Camille Pelletan, former Minister of Marine in France.

June 6.—Rev. Jesse B. Thomas, D.D., a prominent Baptist clergyman of Brooklyn, 82.

June 7.—Adm. Marie Jacques Charles Aubert, Chief of the General Staff of the French Navy, 67.

June 8.—Prof. Joseph Winter, superintendent of the German Free Schools in the United States, 59.



THE LATE JOHN W. ALEXANDER, ARTIST

(Mr. Alexander was one of America's most eminent artists, particularly noted for portrait painting. During recent years he had given much of his time to public affairs in New York City, and at the time of his death was president of the National Academy of Design.)

June 10.—Gen. Edward L. Molineux, a prominent Civil War veteran of Brooklyn, 82. . . . Harvey B. Ferguson, former Congressman from New Mexico, 67. . . . Dr. Henry James, of Vermont, in charge of surgeons at the Battle of Gettysburg, 83.

June 11.—Alfred Theodore Schauffler, treasurer of Robert College, Constantinople, and former Superintendent of Schools in New York City, 74.

June 13.—Col. Charles Edward Woodruff, U.S.A., retired, authority on military sanitation and on neurasthenia, 55.

June 14.—Dr. John H. McCollom, professor-emeritus of contagious diseases at the Harvard Medical School, 72.

June 15.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Julius Allen, U.S.A., retired, 75. . . . Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, a British authority on naval designing, 86. . . . Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovitch of Russia, president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and head of the department of military schools, 57.

June 17.—Henry Beach Needham, a well-known special writer for magazines, 43.

June 18.—Albert Plaut, a prominent New York drug manufacturer, 58.

# CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS

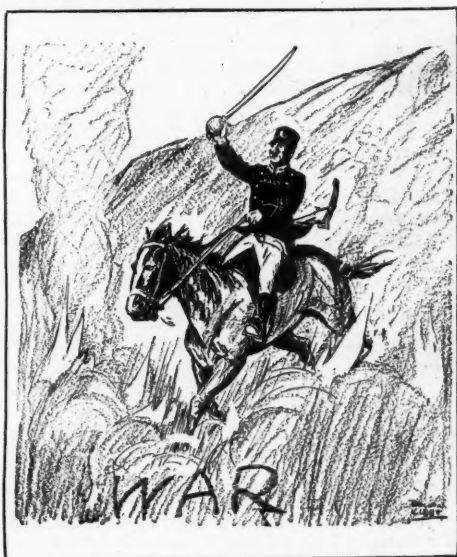


ITALY, TO THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR BETHMANN-HOLLWEG: "YOU TREATED THE BELGIAN NEUTRALITY AGREEMENT AS A SCRAP OF WASTE PAPER. I DO THE SAME WITH THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AGREEMENT"

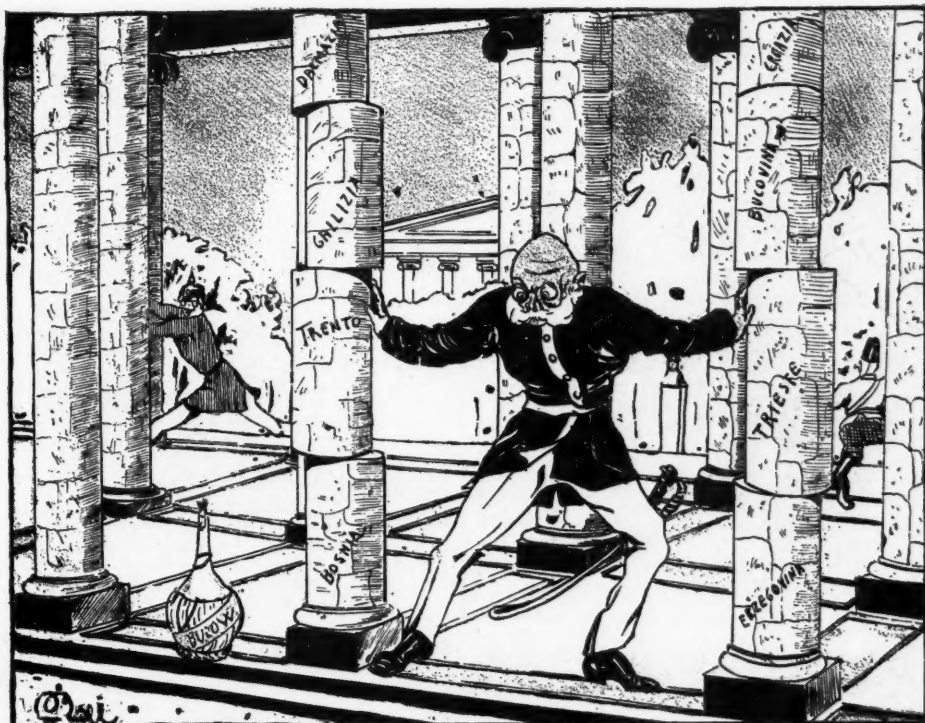
From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)



BLUEBEARD'S WIFE—Sister Ann, Sister Ann, what do you see?  
SISTER ANN—I see Italy at last coming to release us.  
From the *Star* (Montreal)



ITALY GOES OVER THE BRINK  
From the *World* (New York)



THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH, AS THE NEW SAMSON, PULLING DOWN THE PILLS OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN TEMPLE—(AN ITALIAN VIEW)  
From *Il Fischietto* (Turin)

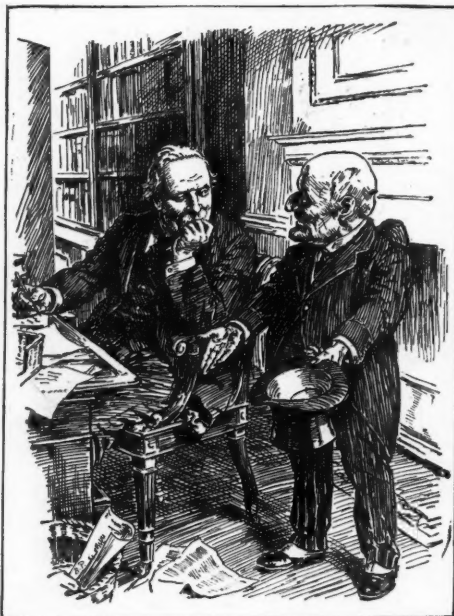


THE TURKS OFFER STOUT RESISTANCE TO THE ALLIES AT THE DARDANELLES

TURKEY: "Back; the keeping of this gate will remain in the same old hands!"  
From *Ull* © (Berlin)



ON WITH THE NEW HATE  
From *Punch* (London)



LLOYD GEORGE: "ENGLAND EXPECTS—"  
(Mr. Lloyd George has been very effective in stirring up England to a more sturdy support of the war)  
From the Sun (New York)

#### WANTED, A LEAD

Mr. PUNCH (to the Prime Minister): "You can get all the willing service you need, Sir, if you'll only organize it. Tell each man of us what is wanted of him, and he'll do it."

From Punch (London)



#### THE MAN BEHIND

From the Post-Intelligencer (Seattle)



SWAPPING HORSES WHILE CROSSING THE STREAM,  
OR JOHN BULL CHANGING CABINETS IN WAR TIME  
From the World (New York)



© 1915, by John T. McCutcheon  
From the Tribune (Chicago)

IF WE STAY OUT OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

THE WAR IN TERMS OF



## ON HIS MIND .

(Both Germany and Mexico have been heavily pressing upon Uncle Sam's attention lately)

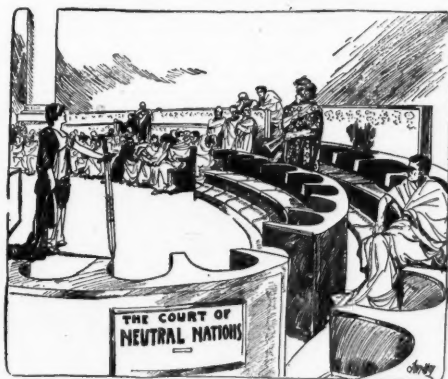
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



## A DANGEROUS TRAVELING COMPANION

(The sensible American tourist decides not to travel on the same ship with a cargo of ammunition)

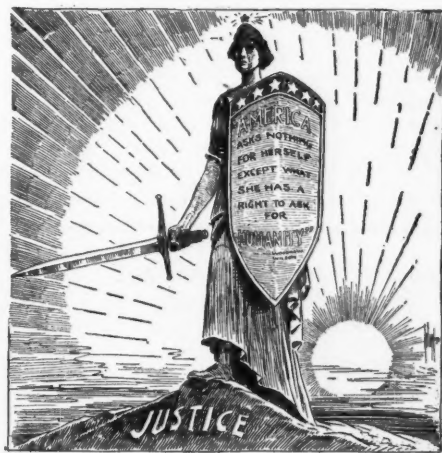
From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)



## THE COMMON CAUSE

(Uncle Sam pleads for humanity in the court of the neutral nations)

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



## "HOW FIRM A FOUNDATION"

(America's unselfish purpose as interpreted by President Wilson)

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



## DOLLARS AND CENTS

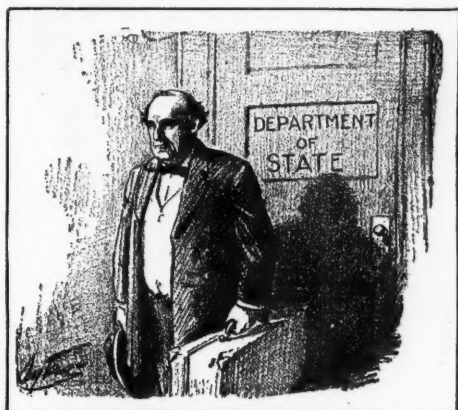
IF WE ARE DRAWN INTO THE EUROPEAN WAR





© 1915, by John T. McCutcheon

PRESIDENT WILSON THE SPOKESMAN OF HUMANITY  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



BUT HE [BRYAN] FOLLOWED HIS CONSCIENCE  
(Apropos of Mr. Bryan's resignation as Secretary of State) From the *Evening Ledger* (Philadelphia)



WILSON, OUR AMBIDEXTROUS DIPLOMAT, DEALING  
WITH GERMANY AND MEXICO AT THE SAME TIME  
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



SWITZERLAND, THE BUFFER STATE, AN ISLAND OF  
NERVOUS NEUTRALITY, IN A TURBULENT SEA OF  
WAR. From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



NOT LACK OF NUMBERS, BUT LACK OF PREPARATION  
SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE CAUSE OF RUSSIA'S  
DEFEAT AT PRZEMYSL. From the *Sun* (New York)



# FOUR WAR FRONTS IN JUNE

## AND SOME HISTORICAL COMPARISONS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

### I. NAPOLEONIC MEMORIES

IN the month that saw the hundredth anniversary of Waterloo the attention of the world was naturally and inevitably turned to the parallel between the situation in the Europe of 1915 and that of the first years of the preceding century.

The coming of Italy into the struggle in the last days of May contributed much to making this parallel. In sum Italy had enlisted because Austria had declined to cede to her the *Italia irredenta*. Men now recalled that in 1813, when Napoleon was fighting desperately but still successfully his war on the two fronts,—in Spain and in Germany,—when he had opened the 1813 campaign with victories at Lützen and Bautzen, Austria, still neutral, had demanded the Illyrian provinces as the price of neutrality, and these Illyrian provinces included Trieste, Fiume, Dalmatia.

Like Francis Joseph, Napoleon had declined to make the sacrifice and in a few months Leipsic, the great "Battle of the Nations," where Prussians, Austrians, Swedes, Russians stood in line against the French Emperor, put an end to the Napoleonic dream of world empire,—to "world power," as Bernhardt has put it,—marked the beginning of that swift downfall that was in but a brief time to come at Fontainebleau.

With the arrival of Italy on the battle-lines of what was now, at least, the Grand Alliance this situation of 1915 fairly reproduced that of 1813. Napoleon's victories in eastern Germany were but lesser profit compared with Mackensen's sweep through Galicia, his recapture of Przemysl as great a triumph as Napoleon's similar success at Dresden. But Napoleon defeated his foes only to face new armies,—a continent in arms,—and who could longer doubt that Germany, with her crippled Austrian ally, was to face similar odds?

Russia, Great Britain, France, Serbia, and now Italy were in the field. In the Balkans the battle for neutrality, lost at Rome by Prince von Bülow, was now being waged at

Bucharest, at Athens, at Sofia. But in the Rumanian and Greek capitals mobs are already demonstrating in favor of war. "The street" was shouting as it had spoken decisively in Rome and Milan. For the Rumanians the collapse of Austria promised territorial gains nowhere else obtainable, promised the liberation of millions of "Romans" in Transylvania, Bukowina, and Banat. For Greece the ancient Greek colonies of Asia Minor, the Hellenic outposts which had provoked the Persian wars of antiquity, beckoned to a new Greece, and Smyrna had become the prize of Greek intervention.

Go back to 1813 in the hours before Austria entered and it is possible to see how Europe then felt. Napoleon was still the unconquerable captain. The Russian disaster had but incidentally shaken the legend of French invincibility which had filled the continent for twenty years. The subsequent victory of Dresden was one more in the sequence which began in far-off Valmy two decades before. From Moscow to Madrid, from Calais to the Holy Land, the soldier of the Revolution and the Empire had marched from victory to victory.

Yet great as was the tradition of victory, splendid as was Napoleon's genius,—and his campaign of 1814 was perhaps his finest,—the uprising of 1813, the coalition of Europe against France, had already doomed the Napoleonic régime. To-day the coalition against Germany, Austria, and Turkey is far more colossal than that which overthrew Bonaparte. Sea-power, the ammunition factories, and the supplies of neutral nations, added to those of British and French colonies, the resources of Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas, the wealth in money and of men at the command of Paris, Petrograd, and London, give to the foes of the Teutonic Empires an advantage which Napoleon's conquerors lacked.

It would be idle to attempt to press the parallel home. German spirit is far more united, determined, confident in 1915 than French in 1813 or 1815. No one could believe that the arrival of an Allied army in

a German city would have the consequences that followed the coming of the British to Bordeaux in 1814. No internal revolution yet threatened in Germany and it was French weariness of war that finally doomed Napoleon. Yet, with the memories of Waterloo in all men's minds, neutral observers looked out upon a Europe again in battle array from the Urals to the Channel, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and marvelled at the resemblances, perhaps drew hasty conclusions from the superficial likeness between the conditions in the two centuries.

## II. ITALY'S STRATEGY

Another Napoleonic tradition was stirred by the physical circumstances of the Italian military problem. In 1797 Napoleon, having won at Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, having taken Mantua and Verona, had precisely the same situation to deal with that faced Italian high command in 1915. In the Tyrol from Botzen to the Julian Alps and in the Venetian Plains from the Julian Alps to the Adriatic behind the Tagliamento an Austrian army stood.

Napoleon solved the problem thus: Into the Tyrol he sent Massena, through the Julian Alps by Pontebba from the Friulian district he sent Joubert. He broke the Austrian lines by forcing a crossing of the Tagliamento. His divided army reunited at Klagenfurth, pressed east and defeated the Austrians at Neumarkt and Unzmarkt. His advance-guard had reached the summit of the Semmering Pass and looked down at the distant hills about Vienna when Austria cried for terms and the Peace of Campo Formio terminated the conflict.

Looking at the opening moves of the Italian armies it will be seen that they followed the Napoleonic tradition. Their effort, too, was directed at these similar Austrian objectives, the Tyrol, the Julian and Carnic Alps, and at the Austrian position behind the Isonzo, not the Tagliamento, that is, a few miles to the east but in the same relative position. Modern fortifications had, however, greatly complicated the problem. Napoleon had to deal with Austrian fortresses on the Italian Plain. Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, Legnago, the famous Quadrilateral of later days, had first to be reduced, since he had trouble with them before he set out on his first march towards Vienna. But Italy had to deal with the great modern fortresses on the mountains, with Trent and its outlying forts.

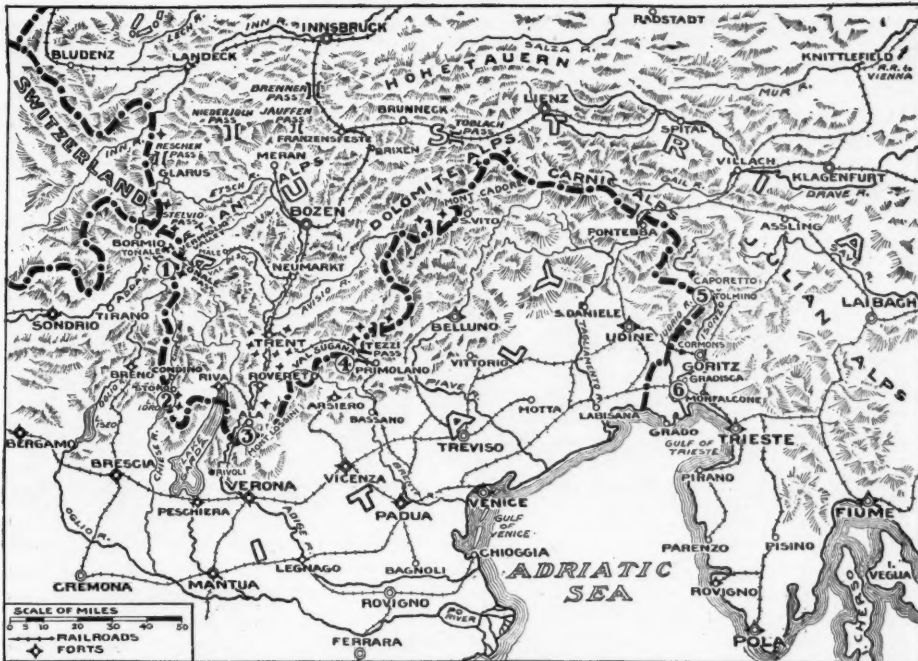
It was, moreover, of prime necessity to Italy that she should remove these Austrian chains upon her own province before Germany began to call back her masses from Galicia and send them south into Italy. Unless she could close the Trent gateway, the Adige Valley, to German advance all her progress in the Julian Alps and beyond the Isonzo would be as empty as the French foray into Alsace-Lorraine in August, 1914, and strategically much the same sort of thing. For, as a glance at the map will show, German troops descending by the Brenner Pass on to the Adige Valley would be in the same relative position to Italian masses on the Isonzo as were the Germans coming south from Belgium to the French masses between Metz and Strassburg and east of Belfort.

In the opening days, therefore, Italy sent one great army against the Trentino, attacking from the south along Lago di Garda and up the Adige Valley, from the east through the Dolomites, from the Ampezzo to the Brenta valleys, and from the west on the pass from Stebvio Pass to Lago di Garda, west of Riva. Here the object was to close the open door into the Po Valley which has been the chief grievance of Italy against Austria since 1866.

A second force, presumably smaller, was sent from the Friulian district by Pontebba toward the upper Drave Valley,—the route of Joubert in 1797,—to cut the communications between Vienna and the Trentino, to close the Pusterthal, a long corridor north of the Julian and Carnic Alps, leading parallel to the Italian frontier. This, too, was a defensive-offensive, designed to cut railway lines near highways and protect Italy from the eventual offensive of Germany.

Finally a third army, following the route of Napoleon himself, pushed east from the Venetian province, passed the frontier, and presently began to press over the Isonzo River, which bars the entrance into Austria from the Julian Alps to the Adriatic. Tolmino, Plova, Gradisca, Sagretto, Montfalcone, each commanding crossings of the river, were taken in turn and the Italian army is, as these lines are written, on June 15, approaching Gorizia, the first strong defensive position of the Austrians. At Montfalcone the extreme Italian right is barely twenty miles from Trieste. The object of the operation now going on in this section is first to isolate and then to capture Trieste.

But in all sections the Italians have only just begun to touch Austrian positions pre-



From the Times (New York)

#### THE ITALIAN-AUSTRIAN WAR AREA

(The above map includes all the immediate war zone of the Italian-Austrian campaigns in the north of Italy and southwestern Austria. The numbers 1 to 6 in the map locate the early clashes with the Austrians as the three Italian forces began their advance northward and northeastward late in May) (See Mr. Simonds' text on opposite page)

pared in advance. The June operations so far have been mere preliminaries; they have disclosed the objectives of Italian operations,—they have shown nothing of Austro-German intentions and nothing of real importance has yet happened.

### III. PRZEMYSL "REDEEMED"

In late May the world, watching the marvelous German offensive in Galicia, wondered whether Russian strength, plainly shattered, would avail to check the armies of Mackensen at the San. So it had wondered in August whether French forces would halt the victorious Germans on the Rheims-La Fere-Laon barrier line. Like the French, the Russians failed, and Przemyśl, a few weeks before the prize of Russian arms, passed to the Austro-German armies after a brief struggle. In June the problem became Lemberg instead of Przemyśl, and as these lines are written, on June 15, the possibility of the fall of Lemberg is quite as portentous as was that of Przemyśl a month ago.

The story of the retaking of Przemyśl is briefly told. Into Central Galicia the Teu-

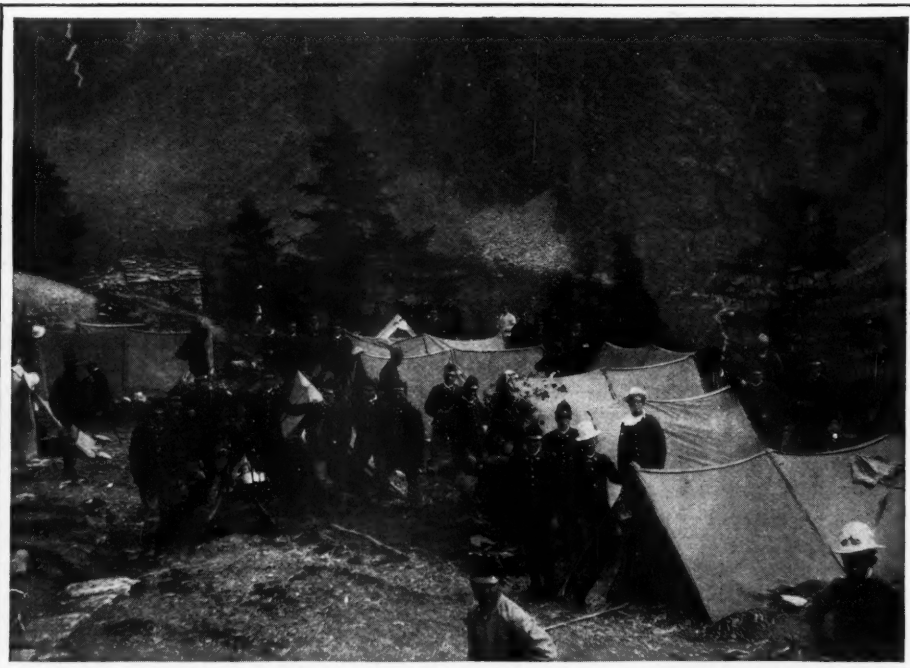
tonic allies flowed along three lines of railways. On the Lemberg-Cracow road, the main trunk line of Galicia, Mackensen's masses came east, forcing the San about Jaroslav and moving on north of Przemyśl and reaching for the Lemberg railway line in the rear of the fortress. A second army came through the Carpathians, forced the Russian frontier at Stryz, and endeavored to join hands with the first and thus invest Przemyśl. A third army came east along the railway line that follows the foothills of the Carpathians on the Galician side, and struck straight at Przemyśl. In sum, the Russian garrison was menaced by direct attack and its communications threatened by two great armies, closing pincers-like upon its rear.

The fact that before it surrendered the Austrian garrison in Przemyśl had done its work of destruction well was disclosed by the rapidity with which German regiments stormed the dismantled forts that had held Russian armies back for so many months. Some of the forts having fallen and the line of retreat having been imperiled, the Russians evacuated the city. They drew out in good order, apparently taking all their guns and



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

A FORCE OF THE PICTURESQUE ITALIAN CYCLIST SOLDIERS ON ACTIVE DUTY



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

AN OUTPOST CAMP OF ITALIAN ALPINISTS, WITH A TYPICAL MOUNTAIN BACKGROUND, ON THE NORTHERN BORDER OF ITALY

supplies with them, for neither Berlin nor Vienna made any claim of captures in men or munitions.

Could the Germans then repeat at Lemberg the successes at Tarnow and Przemyśl?—this was the question of mid-June. At this time one Teutonic army was pointing east along the Przemyśl-Lemberg Railway, another north along the Lemberg-Budapest lines, which cross the Carpathians by the Uzok and Beskid Passes. A third was coming northwest out of Bukowina. The first two reached Muschiaska, thirty-odd miles west of Lemberg, the others were forcing a passage of the Dniester fifty miles to the southeast. So far Austro-German efforts had not slackened.

But it was apparent now that Russian resistance had stiffened. Petrograd reported, Berlin and Vienna conceded incidental Russian successes. There was a plain and natural suggestion that the Germans were now drawing off corps to meet the rapidly mounting Italian menace. Yet, at the time this review is written Lemberg remains in front and the Austro-German drive is not yet checked; although the Russians made a determined stand at Grodek.

In the House of Commons British statesmen explained the German victory as due to a tremendous supremacy in artillery and in ammunition. Upon the Russians, at the Dunajec, it was asserted there had broken a storm of shell fire hitherto unequalled in the Great War. German superiority in ammunition in all fields was regretfully conceded, and British members frankly averred that had this superiority rested with the British in Flanders the German battle-line would long ago have receded to the Meuse and the Dyle.

But however explicable, the German success in Galicia had already deprived the Russians of the fruits of the autumn and winter campaigns. They were now back where they had started in September. The Hungarian frontier was cleared; Cracow was secure; a territory as large as Belgium had been reclaimed; 300,000 Russian prisoners, accepting Berlin claims, had been taken; Russia had suffered one more disaster, the greatest of the war for her, despite the enormous losses of Tannenberg, Lodz, and the Mazurian Lakes. A new military genius had appeared in Mackensen, who shone with Hindenberg at Lodz, but now alone in Galicia, and who enjoyed a reputation second to none in the war, earned by the greatest campaign that had yet been fought.

#### IV. IN THE BALKANS

The entrance of Italy into the Great War gave new interest to the Balkan situation. But it also disclosed the fact that, despite popular agitation, the decision in Bucharest, in Athens, in Sofia, was still contingent upon Allied success at the Dardanelles rather than in Rome. For the Rumanians, Russian reverses in Galicia, Austrian successes on the Pruth, just across their own frontier, made a powerful deterrent. From Bucharest there came no sign of immediate action. Diplomats whispered that King Charles, before his death, had bound his nation to Vienna and Berlin by definite treaty. But self-interest rather than a "scrap of paper" clearly influenced Rumanian statesmen, whose sovereign was a Hohenzollern.

Could the Allied influences at Bucharest prevail, an army of 500,000 well-trained and well-equipped troops would be brought into action. Rumanian invasion of Transylvania and Bukowina would do much to nullify Mackensen's triumph in Galicia. That Rumania would eventually enlist, the world now believed, but not to aid the Allies at her own expense,—rather to harvest easy profits, and profits are not yet easily attainable. On the Demboirtza a policy of cool calculation such as had long been followed on the banks of the Tiber was discovered.

As for Greece, she, too, waited. Her King lay at the point of death for some days, but rallied finally. His death would have been a victory for the Allies, for he was a staunch German supporter, and his wife, a sister of the Kaiser, dominated the Hellenic court. Much depended upon the outcome of a general election in Greece, when a victory for Venizelos might settle the policy of the nation, and Venizelos was a strong believer in alliance with the enemies of Germany. These elections were held on June 13, and resulted in a decisive victory for the supporters of Venizelos, who will have a round majority of 50 in the Chamber of Deputies. Several weeks may elapse, however, before a new parliament can be assembled and Venizelos returned to power.

In sum, it was for Allied success at the Dardanelles that the Balkans were waiting, and the success did not come. On the contrary, such terse official statements as were published in Paris and London disclosed little progress, great losses, and, over all, bore direct and indirect testimony to the splendid fight the Osmanli was making. After five centuries he was in his last ditch. He was



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

#### A TURKISH INFANTRY COLUMN IN GALLIPOLI

(The background gives an indication of the difficult mountainous character of portions of this peninsula)



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

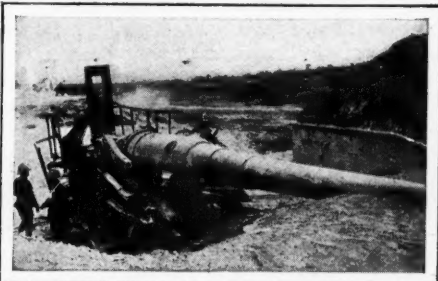
#### A TROOP SHIP USED AS A TROJAN HORSE

The three small pictures herewith deal with the activities at the Dardanelles. The transport ship shown above was employed in a manner similar to the wooden horse of Troy. This ship, the *River Clyde*, loaded with troops but with no sign of life on deck, was allowed to drift slowly with the tide until it grounded on the beach. The Turks, thinking it was a derelict, made no move against it. As soon as the ship touched the beach, however, the hidden soldiers swarmed over the side, made a landing, and captured the Turkish shore batteries.

The two little pictures on the right show the damage to some of these batteries done by the guns from the allied fleet.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

fighting to hold the exact position which he seized when he made his first entrance into Europe, and under German commanders he was making a fight that recalled Plevna, not Lule Burgas or Kumanovo.

In this situation the Allied armies at the Dardanelles plainly required reinforcement. A Bulgarian army, descending by Adrianople to the Chatalja, a Greek or Italian force landed at Enos, these would turn the scales; but, measured by report, the battle had become one of trenches; inches and yards might be gained, but no more. On the Gallipoli peninsula, as in Flanders and Artois, the situation had become a deadlock.

Only Serbia of the Balkan States actually moved, and she moved, not against Austria, but Albania, sending her troops across the Drina toward Durazzo. On this route in 1912 a Serbian army had made a marvelous but forgotten march for the open sea. Thanks to Austria, the expedition had been in vain. But now, with Italy in the war and claiming the Adriatic littoral, the Serb looked once more to the Adriatic,—to the "window on the sea." Plainly he meant to confront Europe with the accomplished fact of possession from the Skumbi River to the Montenegrin boundary when peace should come.

For this expedition justification might be found in reported Albanian raids into the Prisrend and Dilra districts. As an Austrian creation, Albania was Hapsburg in sympathy. Once Durazzo, Elbasan, Tirana, and Sku-

tari were taken, the Serbs of Montenegro and Serbia might expect an end of attack on the eastern marches. Serbia might later, assured of possession in Albania, make cessions to Bulgaria promised in 1912 by treaty, but refused when Austria intervened in 1913. But in the opening days the Serbian adventure remained obscure; the world wondered that Serbian effort was not being made on the Danube and the Save to aid by diversion the hard-pressed Russian champion of the southern Slavs.

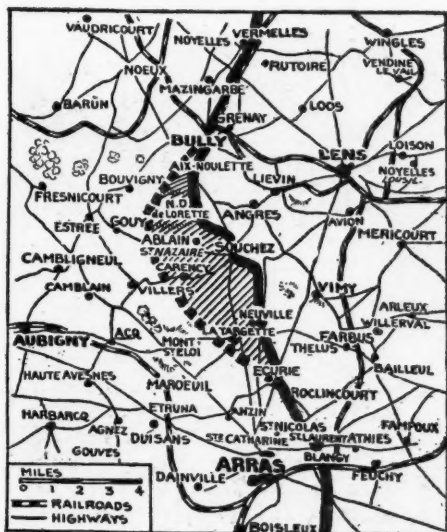
## V. IN THE WEST

Of the campaign in the West, perhaps the most striking detail was the absence of any serious effort on the part of the Allies. In a measure this was inexplicable. Russia was staggering under the impact of a blow delivered by huge German forces. Why should her Western allies permit her to bear the full brunt of the German attack while they sat in trenches? London whispered that they were lacking ammunition, but French ammunition seemed adequate.

The single considerable operation was of merely local importance. North of Arras and west of Lens the French pushed on for some rods. Ablain and Neuville-St. Vaast, a portion of Souchez, a line of trenches about Ecurie in the environs of Arras, were taken with more prisoners and a larger capture of guns than had been reported by the French hitherto. The main highway between Arras and Bethune was cleared of Germans. Lens was within sight of French trenches. But the whole operation was but a "nibble"; it bore no resemblance to any "spring drive"; it was a brilliant, successful adventure, but it seemed to have no larger value; it meant little in the liberation of Northern France, so far as was yet discovered.

In Champagne, about Rheims, in the angle between the Oise and the Aisne rivers, about Tracy-le-Mont, there were skirmishes. The Forest of Le Prêtre, north of Pont-à-Mousson, in the St. Mihiel salient, was the scene of a successful French attack. But was this the extent of French ability at the moment when Russia was dealing with the masses of Germans? For the apathy of the French there was no apparent explanation save only the possibility that there was preparing a new grandiose attack from La Bassée to Switzerland, and of this there was no sign.

Even more puzzling was the British quiescence to casualty lists showing a loss of 120,000 in two months,—2000 a day,—bringing the total of British losses for eight



"NORTH OF ARRAS" (FRANCE), A REGION OF STEADY FIGHTING LAST MONTH

months to 258,000, indicating desperate fighting; but for this there was no claim of success, of progress. The lost ground about Ypres was not retaken. No new attack upon La Bassée was reported. As for the Belgians, they reported artillery engagements on their outposts south of the Yser, showing that the Germans still held both banks of the river west of Dixmude. And this was, up to June 15, the sum of Western operations.

Looking at the history of the eleventh month of the Great War, there was no reason to deny the German claim that they were still fighting a successful war on all fronts. Where they now stood in France they had stood for nine months. They had entered France on August 23 from Belgium; they had taken their stand at the Aisne on September 12; they had taken Antwerp on October 8, and reached the Yser and the Lys a few days later. Compelled three times to rescue Austria, and find ammunition and officers for Turkey, they had made good their hold in Northern France and Belgium, and still hung on defiantly, successfully.

Up to this point it is necessary to record the failure of the British army to measure up to the world's expectations. After nearly eleven months that army still occupied little more than 30 miles of the 500 of the Western

front. This narrow front they had held with extreme difficulty, not only in November but in April. So far they had contributed much to the defense but little to the freeing of French territory. Kitchener's "million" was becoming something of a myth, like that of the "Russians in Belgium" in August. British gold and British ships had done much, but in June the Western situation seemed waiting upon British armies to do their share. Fortunate in diplomacy, since Italy entered, the weeks reviewed here were in the field the most disappointing to the champions of the Allies of any since the Battle of the Marne. At the Dardanelles, in Flanders and Artois, there was no answer to the German triumphs in Galicia.

Thus, if the world thought in June of the Napoleonic anniversary and saw a parallel between German position in 1915 and French in 1813, there was quite as solid ground for the German, reviewing the progress of the Great War, to recall the triumphs of Frederick the Great and the Seven Years in which he stood off Europe and held Silesia as Germany now held Belgium and was standing off Europe, and in this memory there was much of hope, reasonable hope, for the descendants of the Prussians who had won Möllwitz, Rossbach, and Zorndorf.



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A FIELD MASS FOR THE GERMAN SOLDIERS

# WAR OPINION IN ENGLAND:— SOME CONTRASTS

BY ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

(Former United States Senator from Indiana)

[In the two preceding numbers of this REVIEW, Senator Beveridge has discussed certain conditions and aspects of national life and sentiment as he found them in Germany and France early in the present year. This third article points out some marked contrasts between the state of the public mind in England and that of France or of Germany. Inasmuch as the relative discord and apathy that were apparent in March and April led up to the cabinet crisis and reconstruction of May, this memorandum of things noted in England has an especial timeliness.—THE EDITOR.]

THE reconstruction of the British cabinet surprised no one who had studied conditions in England by first-hand investigation on the ground. It was plain even in March that this was certain to happen; for dissatisfaction was manifest at the extreme poles of political opinion, and sullenness reigned in the zones between. Some "war Liberals" said that power was making cabinet members too autocratic; and many "war Conservatives" declared, on the contrary, that the government showed weakness, indecision, and procrastination.

Also there were many who thought that Great Britain should not have gone to war; and these still smarted under the methods by which they declared that the nation had been led to take this fatal step. So while the great body of public sentiment upheld the war, yet there was bickering and discontent,—the situation was startlingly unlike that in Germany and France.

Indeed, toward the close of the first phase of the combat of nations, the quick crossing of the Channel brought the student of peoples at war face to face with contrasts; conditions in England appeared to be the reverse of those in France and Germany.

A picturesque circumstance at once compelled sharp comparison. London swarmed with soldiers. For every soldier seen on the streets of Paris or Berlin, one might count at least a hundred in the British capital. No restaurant was without several military customers. Khaki-clad privates were seen strolling in all public parks where the people of London take the air. The music halls were never without a bevy of officers.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the physical appearance of the majority of these British soldiers. Perhaps one-half of the thousands of these volunteers, personally

studied, were superb examples of vigorous and robust manhood. The Scotch especially were magnificent specimens. Superior to all in their physical fitness, vitality, and bearing, were the soldiers and officers from Canada, although comparatively few of these were seen; most of them, it was said, were not at Aldershot or in London.

At a rough estimate, one would say that at least two-thirds, perhaps three-fourths, of all the soldiers and officers observed in England during March of 1915 were excellent military material,—this includes the one-half of the whole who are exceptionally fine-looking men. The remainder were inferior in stature and all other evidences of physical strength.

It was frankly admitted by well-informed Englishmen deeply interested in the war that the officers were not well trained. "You couldn't expect anything else, could you?" said one of these. "They have not had six months' training." "But," he added, with cheerful optimism, "you will find that they will turn out all right."

## PUBLIC OPINION ON THE WAR

The heavy weight of British public opinion heartily supported the war. Thoughtful Englishmen of the highest consideration, like Lord Bryce, declared that "the British people are united more than they ever were united before" in support of the war.

Yet it was evident that there were not the compactness and unity of sentiment, or the utter devotion and unlimited resolve, that marked popular feeling in Germany and France. Such careful but outspoken conservatives as Lord Newton frankly asserted that "there are a large number who do not know what the war really means, and there are some who really say that they do not see

what difference it would make to them even if the German Emperor ruled this country"; but Lord Newton said that "undoubtedly by far the greatest majority support the war."

Out of twenty-seven persons interviewed, belonging to the under strata of the "middle class" and ranging down to the "lower class," as the British term describes them, several had no clear idea of the reason for Great Britain's going to war.

"Why, sir, we went to war on Belgium's account," said one of these. "Belgium!" exclaimed another of the group. "We are fighting for ourselves. We can't afford to let Germany get to the Channel." The best-posted one of this class, a barber, thought that "England went into this war to keep Germany from being the first power of Europe,—England couldn't permit that, sir, could she?"

All the others frankly confessed their total ignorance of the whole matter, or were either vague or absurd in their ideas of the cause of this greatest armed strife in human history. For example:

"That German Kaiser was going to come over here and rule England," said a cab-driver. "You don't mean," exclaimed the questioner, "that the German Emperor meant to depose King George and ascend the British throne himself, do you?" "That's exactly what I mean," was the response.

The keeper of a little shop in the poorer quarters of London surmised that: "Money is at the bottom of it, sir." A small business man said that he had not been able to make up his mind why England went to war, but he was sure that she ought not to have done it and very emphatic in his "wish that the politicians would get through with it." There was much of such comment. Of the class referred to only the one quoted even mentioned Belgium.

The curious fact was generally admitted that the middle classes appeared to be unaroused and the so-called lower classes divided between those who are sullenly indifferent and those who are patriotically interested.

But the aristocracy were eager, united, and resolved. Never in history has this hereditary class shown its valor and patriotic devotion in a more heroic way than in the present crisis. Their courage amounts to recklessness. When one listens to undoubtedly true stories of these men's conduct in battle, one almost concludes that they regard it as a point of honor to get killed "like

gentlemen." They are, of course, mostly officers; and it is said that the British private soldier does not take kindly to officers from his own class, but follows willingly only those from the ranks above him, and not even these unless they lead him with a death-inviting physical daring.

The military bustle and confused civilian opinion formed one of the many dissimilarities between war conditions in England and those in the two countries locked in deadly strife almost within sight of the British coast.

Perhaps the facts set forth in this article are the fruits of democracy, although this thought is modified by the reflection that France also is a democracy and the French even more democratic than the English. Or perhaps the conditions here reported flowed from British unpreparedness in land forces, due to her overpreparedness in sea forces; for Great Britain's mighty navy, greater than that of any other two nations combined, and the water-defended location of the United Kingdom, have justly given the British people a sense of security enjoyed by those of no other European country.

But whatever the cause, contrasts and surprises everywhere confronted one who stepped across the Channel from France and Germany to English soil, toward the close of the first period of the war, March of 1915. Antitheses were on every side; and fixed and settled ideas were driven from the mind by the lash of hard and remorseless facts.

#### LABOR DISPUTES

Perhaps the labor and industrial situation was the most meaningful circumstance that challenged attention.

The first phase of Armageddon was drawing to its close. Great Britain was in the eighth month of the war. Although she had held but thirty miles of the almost four hundred miles of battle line in France, thousands of British soldiers had fallen and hundreds of her finest officers had laid down their lives. The larger part of her expeditionary force, comprising most of her disciplined troops and trained leaders, had been killed, captured, or disabled.

In answer to fervent exhortations and appealing advertisements hitherto unknown in warfare, it was said that 2,500,000 British volunteers had enlisted and were training;—an immense number, and yet only about half of the men with whom France now holds her battle lines or has, highly trained, waiting in reserve depots to join their comrades

at the fighting front; just the same number who, according to informed Germans, although not called to the colors, yet volunteered in Germany when hostilities opened; and perhaps one-third of the number that Germany has under arms or ready to take the field.

Yet popular discontent raised its many-headed visage in multitudes of places throughout the United Kingdom. The workers on the Clyde had struck. The dock laborers at Liverpool had either stopped work or threatened to do so. Here, there, and yonder, the protest of the toiler against conditions flamed up like a fire creeping beneath forest leaves and refusing to be extinguished. Bitter animosity arose.

The powerfully and ably edited London *Post* declared that:

"The behavior of some of our workmen just now would justify martial law. . . . Many of them only work half the week and idle away the rest of the time."

An article in the London *Times* from its special correspondent from Sunderland, entitled "Shipyard Shirkers," thus stated the situation:

The pride of Sunderland [Clyde] is its claim to be the biggest ship-building town in the world; the shame of Sunderland is its large body of shirkers, and that shame is paraded openly and almost ostentatiously in the main street of the town. . . . It is a common thing for men to be away three days each week. . . . Most employers and several workmen attribute the absenteeism to drink. . . . But absenteeism is not wholly, or indeed, largely due to intemperance. The shirkers who parade the streets are a remarkably sober-looking body of men.

The *Daily Mail* asked:

How could the employers and their workmen on the Clyde and elsewhere allow an industrial dispute to develop to the serious and immediate peril of their nation in the midst of the most stupendous war the world has ever seen?

In an article by "Our Special Correspondent," entitled, "Do We Realize the War?" the London *Times* published this:

There seems to be a feeling, shared I don't know exactly by whom, that as a nation we are not awake to the importance of the life-and-death struggle in which we are engaged. . . . What can the French think of us? . . . It is known that the pack of hounds we imported into France, in order that our British soldiers might hunt in their spare time, has been put down at the request of the French Government.

The *Daily Mail* editorially asserted that: "The workers in the armament factories

of this country have not, as a whole, realized what this war requires of them."

The labor papers, on the contrary, tigerishly resented these attacks upon the workers. These journals saw in the assaults upon the British laboring man an effort to break down the whole trade-union system and exploitation of labor by the capitalistic classes. "This," declared *Justice*, an organ of the Social Democracy, in a signed article by a vigorous leader,

was the reason why Cabinet Ministers, shareholders, and capitalistic pressmen have commenced this campaign of calumny against a body of men who, but a short time before, they were united in praising. First it was the docker who was lazy, now it is the engineer,—whose turn will it be next? Not the share-holder, who calmly pockets his enhanced dividends, and then proceeds to abuse the men who made the dividends.

Another signed article in this labor paper concerning the strike of the engineers on the Clyde said:

We find the engineering shops seething with discontent, and it is difficult to say what may yet be the outcome.

These, out of scores of similar quotations on both sides of the labor controversy, give some idea of the sharpness of the economic strife in Great Britain.

#### "THE COMMANDEERING BILL"

So very grave did it finally become, and so acutely was the government embarrassed in conducting the war because of shortage of material and equipment, that toward the middle of March the most drastic and autocratic law ever passed by any legislative body in British history was enacted. Broadly speaking, this law gave the government absolute power to take over and conduct the whole or any part of the industry of Great Britain.

The factories were not turning out proper quantities of munitions. Ship-building firms were working on private contracts. There had been no general voluntary adjustment of manufacturing to changed conditions, as in Germany and France.

But, while employers were blamed for selfishness and profit hunger, the weightiest blows of censure fell upon the heads of British laborers. Thus the government armed itself with Czar-like powers of compulsion over British industry.

The government considered this revolutionary statute so necessary that Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

assured the House of Commons that "the success of the war depends upon it." Lord Kitchener, from his place in the House of Lords, told Parliament and the nation that military operations had "been seriously hampered by the failure to obtain skilful labor and by delays in the production of the necessary plants"; and, complaining of labor indifference and trade-unions' restrictions, he grimly declared that the Commandeering bill, as this extreme socialistic measure was popularly called, was "imperatively necessary."

The newspapers were swift to see and frank to state the profound change which this law wrought in British conditions; and justified it only upon the ground of deadly emergency. The *Daily Mail* said that the law established "a sort of industrial dictatorship."

The *Daily Express* asserted that "The new bill is, of course, State Socialism. That must be accepted."

Because the debate disclosed remissness on the part of the manufacturers and the law gave autocratic control of them, the *Morning Post*, after a long comparison of the conduct of workingmen and manufacturers, demanded that "If there are to be powers to deal with 'refractory manufacturers,' let us have powers also to deal with refractory workmen."

The *Star* stated that the "tremendous powers" of the Commandeering bill "make the government absolute dictators in the industrial field."

The *Daily Express*, in discussing another subject, announced that:

"Parliamentary government has temporarily come to an end in Great Britain."

At a large labor meeting personally attended, following the first debate in Parliament upon the Commandeering bill, bitter denunciations of the government were heard. The manufacturers, the ship-owners, the dealers in life's necessities, were, declared the speakers, using the war to squeeze blood-money from the people by an unconscionable raising of prices. One orator asserted that certain high members of the government were personally sharing these wicked profits.

At this particular labor meeting not one warm word was uttered in support of the war. But all demanded that the principles of the Commandeering bill should be applied to food and fuel in order to relieve the distress of the people. If the government, said they, are to take over factories and docks, and to compel labor to toil unrea-

sonably in order that munitions of war shall be furnished, let the government also take over foodstuffs and compel dealers and carriers to sell reasonably for the provisioning of the poor.

#### THE RISE OF FOOD AND FUEL PRICES

Leaflets and pamphlets were distributed, filled with astounding figures showing the rise of prices and demanding government intervention. A pamphlet entitled "Why Starve?" showed that bread had risen since the outbreak of the war from five pence for a four-pound loaf to seven and one-half pence, and was still going up; and, while the price of all meat had risen sharply, that consumed by the common people had increased enormously. It said that:

"The best parts of British beef and mutton have gone up only an average of 7 per cent., whereas the cheaper parts, which the poorer people buy, have risen 22 per cent."

The pamphlet cited similar soaring of prices in other life necessities, its conclusion being that:

It is just as important that, in a state of war, the provisioning of the people should be undertaken as a national responsibility as that soldiers should be well looked after. . . . National organization of agriculture and national control of the foodstuffs produced, together with the means of transit used in the interests of people in peace as it is now used for military purposes in war,—are the lines which must be followed.

A leaflet distributed in great numbers, entitled "The Enemy Within Our Gates," asserted that:

War, with all its horrors, sufferings, and sacrifices, is regarded by certain people in our midst as affording a special opportunity for plundering their fellow countrymen. Ship-owner, colliery owner, coal merchant, flour merchant, corn speculator,—patriots all!—seek to make huge profits out of our necessities.

And the leaflet gave comparative prices showing that bread, corn, coal (cheaper qualities), meat (cheapest qualities) had almost doubled in price since Great Britain drew the sword.

The leaflet said that one result of the British Navy's clearing the seas of German shipping was that "ship-owners are thus free to increase freights 100, 200, 300, 400, and even 500 per cent."; and demanded that "the government must take over the supply of food and fuel and the means of transport, and must administer that supply for the benefit of the people." The leaflet closed with an appeal for organization "to

force the government to act speedily in the interest of the whole people and to put a stop to this robbery by a gang of profit-mongers trading on the necessities of the poor."

"Oh! they amount to nothing," said one of the most powerful men in England when told of this labor meeting. On the contrary: "But you noticed that the chairman was a member of Parliament, that the representative of the British coöperative stores was one of the speakers, and that all of them were trusted representatives of the working classes," remarked a studious observer when told of this estimate of the insignificance of this labor demonstration.

So familiar had one become, in Germany and France, with smooth-working efficiency, solidarity of sentiment, contentment with economic conditions, and steel-like resolve, that what was seen, heard, and read of the labor and industrial situation across the Channel startled and surprised.

#### ADVERTISING FOR RECRUITS

Another, though a surface, example of the differences in the British situation as compared with that existing in France and Germany: London was literally plastered with striking posters, urgently appealing for volunteers.

By the middle of March there were signs that such devices were palling on the public; and the *Times*, in an earnest leader, asked, "What steps are being taken to fill the places" of the killed and wounded? Referring to the advertising devices for the securing of enlistments, this powerful editorial declared that:

We confess at once that we have not ourselves admired some of the expedients already employed. Sensational advertisements and indirect compulsion are not the methods by which a great people should raise their armies.

In France, on the contrary, no such flaming appeals to patriotism were found. The only printed inducement to arms to be found in Paris was a modest request to boys under military age, and their parents, to coöperate with the Citizens' Military Committee, that they might be trained for future emergencies. Even this was in plain black type and posted occasionally and without ostentatious prominence on a wall here and there. And it was answered liberally; unripe youth of France were drilling by the thousand.

In Germany appeared no entreaties of any kind for men to join the colors or for women

to support the war; and this was not because, as many in America erroneously suppose, all German men are compelled to bear arms. Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers then and now at the front were and are volunteers.

#### ENGLAND AND BELGIUM

And Belgium! The greatest surprise in store for the student of peoples at war was the place Belgium occupied in British opinion as the cause of Great Britain entering the conflict. For the American visitor supposed, of course, that Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality was the one and only reason for Great Britain's drawing the sword.

Yet a remarkably bold and powerful leading editorial in the *London Times* of March 8, 1915, on "Why We Are at War," declared that:

Our honor and our interest must have compelled us to join France and Russia, even if Germany had scrupulously respected the rights of her small neighbors. . . . Why did we guarantee the neutrality of Belgium? For an imperious reason of self-interest, for the reason which has always made us resist the establishment of any great power over against our East Coast. . . . We do not set up to be international Don Quixotes, ready at all times to redress wrongs which do us no hurt. . . . Even had Germany not invaded Belgium, honor and interest would have united us with France. We had refused, it is true, to give her or Russia any binding pledge up to the last moment. We had, however, for many years past led both to understand that, if they were unjustly attacked, they might rely upon our aid. This understanding had been the pivot of the European policy followed by the three powers. . . . We reverted to our historical policy of the balance of power for the reasons for which our forefathers adopted it. . . . When we subsidized every state in Germany, and practically all Europe, in the Great War, we did not lavish our gold from love of German or of Austrian liberty, or out of sheer altruism. No; we invested it for our own safety and our own advantage. . . . England is fighting for exactly the same kind of reasons for which she fought Philip III., Louis XIV., and Napoleon. She is fighting the battle of the oppressed, it is true, in Belgium and in Serbia. . . . She is helping her great Allies to fight in defense of their soil and of their homes against the aggressor. . . . But she is not fighting primarily for Belgium or for Serbia, for France or for Russia. They fill a great place in her mind and in her heart. But they come second. The first place belongs, and rightly belongs, to herself.

In a brilliant leader of March 17, the *Morning Post* asserted:

This country did not go to war out of pure altruism, as some people suppose, but because her very existence was threatened. A Germany supreme in France and the Netherlands must inevitably have destroyed the British Empire next. That

is what really underlies "the scrap of paper" and all the talk of "German militarism"!

Of several thoroughly informed and eminently thoughtful men, belonging to the various political parties, whose names are well known in intellectual England, only one ventured to intimate that Great Britain would not have declared war if Germany had not violated Belgium's neutrality.

With this exception, every gentleman conversed with said quite frankly that Great Britain would have entered the conflict regardless of Belgium, although all of them emphasized what they called "the Belgian outrage." A composite of the view of these gentlemen, Liberal and Conservative, was that Great Britain could not afford to see France crushed or to permit Germany to get a foothold on the Channel or to allow her to become strong enough to contest, or even question, Great Britain's mastery of the seas; or to upset Europe's balance of power, which, it was asserted, Germany's growing strength was overturning.

And every one of them said that if Germany is not beaten now, "it will be our turn next." Just as in France it was agreed that if France had let Germany defeat Russia, "it would have been our turn next," so in England the common expression among supporters of the war was that if England had let Germany defeat Russia and France, "it would have been our turn next." In both England and France it seemed to be taken for granted that Germany could beat any one of the Allies, or any two of them combined, and that the safety of each required the united effort of all.

The consensus of competent opinion was that the British Government would have plunged into the maelstrom of blood even though Belgium had gone untouched by German hands.

So, while those sincere and powerful men and consummate politicians, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, in their public appeals during the first months of the war, gave the Belgian violation as the one reason for Great Britain's plunging into Armageddon, yet in March, 1915, few could be found who were willing to say that this was the sole cause of Great Britain's action.

Indeed, it was related that, at the very moment when the Liberal government made its fateful decision, a large number of Liberals were sharply discontented. Among these were many important men. So grave, it was declared, was the dissent that three men, conspicuous in British politics, resigned

from the government. These noted Liberals were Lord Morley, John Burns, and Charles Trevelyan. In March, 1915, it was openly charged that so extensive was the disaffection in the Liberal party when war was decided upon that the government, not being certain that it could command sufficient strength within its own party, made a deal with the leaders of the compact opposition, which was and is hot for the war, to support the government in its war measures; and that in return, the government agreed to drop all contested legislation while the war lasted.

This meant, it was asserted, that the program of Liberal legislation, certainly its most vital parts, to which the government and Liberal party were pledged, was to be indefinitely postponed. The general terms of this agreement were even reduced to writing in a letter which passed between Mr. Asquith for the government and Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Lansdowne for the opposition. There are those in England who bitterly denounce this as a betrayal of the Liberal party by the government; and some important men openly and acidly said so.

Nor was criticism of the government confined to this class of Liberals; many Conservatives were even more severe on what they considered the government's inefficiency. The forces that break up cabinets were plainly apparent in March, 1915. The opposition was restless under the government's lack of vigor; and the discontented Liberals were brooding over the manner in which, they said, England had been maneuvered into war and the bargain between the government and the opposition.

#### SIR EDWARD GREY'S ALLEGED "SECRET DIPLOMACY"

At the very outset this latter body of English sentiment felt outraged that Sir Edward Grey's "secret diplomacy," as they called it, had pledged the honor of the British nation to support France in a war with Germany without the British people being permitted to know anything about it until too late. Neither the British people nor even Parliament, said these men, were advised of what these men call Sir Edward Grey's "secret promise" to France until he announced it in the House of Commons on August 3, when it was impossible to escape its consequences.

"Is it not monstrous," exclaimed Charles Trevelyan, "that a people are only told on the eve of war that they must go into it because a secret agreement, made long be-

fore by a concealed diplomacy, has bound the honor of a nation to that course?"

"The Liberal party and the nation were led up to the guns blindfolded," declared Bernard Shaw.

On the other hand, Sir Edward Grey's supporters denied that the British foreign minister made any pledge which bound Great Britain. In his historic speech of August 3, Sir Edward Grey told the House that in 1906, when questioned as to what Great Britain would do in case of war between France and Germany, he had expressed his personal view that British public opinion "would have rallied to the material support of France."

But in pursuance of this, and at the request of France, said the critics of Sir Edward Grey, conferences followed between the French and British naval and military experts for the purpose of making the joint military and naval action of France and Great Britain effective against Germany in a practical way. Out of these Franco-British naval and military conferences, it was said, came the mutual placing of the British and French fleets; so that, when the present war burst upon Europe, and apparently long before, the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean, thus releasing the bulk of the British fleet for work in the North Sea and the Channel.

No attempt is here made to go into the merits of this controversy. It exists and the fact is here recorded.

#### PROPAGANDA AGAINST "SECRET DIPLOMACY"

But it must not be inferred that these British critics of Sir Edward Grey and the government do not support the war, now that Great Britain is engaged in the struggle. They do support the war, though not with that savage aggressiveness which marks the utterance and action of what they call the extreme imperialists. They say that it was wrong (some of them used the expression "infamously wrong") for Sir Edward Grey to have created conditions which made it inevitable that Great Britain would enter the struggle while keeping the people in ignorance of the situation; some of them vigorously declare that Great Britain ought not to have gone to war at all. But now that the die is cast, even these men feel that their country must go through with it.

But they are looking to the end of it and already have formed a strong organization advocating certain principles to govern the terms of peace and to prevent such another

catastrophe as the present. This organization is known as the Union of Democratic Control. Its principles are that:

(1) No province shall be transferred from one government to another without consent by plebiscite of the population of such province.

(2) No treaty, arrangement, or understanding shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.

(3) The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the "balance of power," but shall be directed to the establishment of a concert of Europe and the setting up of an international council whose deliberations and decisions shall be public.

(4) Great Britain shall propose as part of the peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction by consent of the armaments of all the belligerent powers, and to facilitate that policy, shall attempt to secure the general nationalization of the manufacture of armaments, and the control of the export of armaments by one country to another.

This organization is extremely active. Public meetings are being held where effective speakers appeal to the people. Pamphlets are being showered throughout the British Islands. Most of these assail the whole system of "secret diplomacy" of which they declare that Sir Edward Grey's and the government's conduct is a calamitous example. One of these declares:

The public has been treated as though foreign affairs were outside,—and properly outside,—its ken. And the public has acquiesced. Every attempt to shake its apathy has been violently assailed by spokesmen of the Foreign Office in the press.

One of these pamphlets, by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., asserts that:

When war had become a certainty, undebated statements were made to a bewildered and entirely ignorant House. Neither in the decisions nor in the policy which led to the decisions was there the smallest exercise of any control by the people of their representatives.

Another pamphlet, entitled "War and the Workers," by J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., gives the workingman's view of the war. He thus describes

the hidden currents beneath which were flowing to war. The Entente was brought about in 1904. Two years later it resulted in "military conversations" withheld at first from the Cabinet and never revealed to the people until the war cloud was low and black over their heads. Instantly from every newspaper at the beginning of August the war bugles blew (they had been blown by the most influential ones days before); books which had

enjoyed no circulation of repute in Germany were sold by hundreds of thousands<sup>1</sup>; accounts of how we got into the war, with salient facts obscured or left out, in pamphlets and leaflets were scattered broadcast.

As to "militarism," Mr. MacDonald asserts that:

What is known as Prussian militarism differs only in degree from British militarism. They are all strengthened by secret diplomacy, because so long as the cleansing light of the sun falls sparingly on the foreign offices, the game of bluff, squeeze, and gambling risk can be carried on.

A pamphlet on "War, the Offspring of Fear," by the Hon. Bertrand Russell, stating the German view, declares the war to be:

A great race-conflict, a conflict of Teuton and Slav, in which certain other nations, England, France, and Belgium, have been led into coöperation with the Slav.

In a remarkably lucid review of the underlying causes of the war, Mr. Russell, outlining Austrian opinion, states that, "The Austrians are a highly civilized race, half surrounded by Slavs in a relatively backward state of culture"; calls Serbia, "a country so barbaric that a man can secure the throne by instigating the assassination of his predecessor," and asserts that Serbia "is engaged constantly in fomenting the racial discontent of men of the same race who are Austrian subjects. Behind Serbia stands the all but irresistible power of Russia"; maintains that the war on Germany's part is not "aggressive in substance, whatever it may be in form. In substance it is defensive, the attempt to preserve Central Europe for a type of civilization indubitably higher and of more value to mankind than that of any Slav state."

Mr. Russell thus puts Germany's case:

The Germans could not stand by passively while Russia destroyed Austria; honor and interest alike made such a course impossible. They were bound by their alliance, and they felt convinced that if they were passive it would be their turn next to be overrun by the Russian hordes.

As to England, Mr. Russell contends that "fear of the German Navy led us to ally ourselves with France and Russia"; but that England's fears "have had to be carefully nursed."

A pamphlet by Norman Angell, while assailing "militarism," vigorously combats the

idea of "crushing Germany for good and all," and asserts that

the Germans are of all the peoples of Europe the most nearly allied to ourselves in race and blood; in all the simple and homely things our very language is the same,—and every time that we speak of house and love, father and mother, son and daughter, God and man, work and bread, we attest to common origins in the deepest and realest things that affect us. Our religious history is allied; our political ties have in the past been many. Our Royal Family is of German descent.

The above are moderate—much stronger statements are made. For example, consider these extracts from an essay on "The Origins of the Great War," by H. N. Brailsford:

It was our secret naval commitment to France and our fatal entanglement through ten years in the struggle for a European balance of power which sent our fleets to sea. . . . To the statesmen [German] the issue was . . . whether Russia, using Serbia as her vanguard, should succeed in breaking up the Austrian Empire. . . . the flying buttress of her [Germany's] own imperial fabric. . . . Their [the Servians'] morals and their politics belong to the Middle Ages. . . . The officers who . . . murdered his Queen [after assassinating King Alexander], mutilated her corpse, and flung it naked into the streets of Belgrade, gave the measure of their own social development.

The Pan-Slavists have brought the whole of European civilization to a test which may come near submerging it, in order to accomplish their dream of racial unity. . . . We are taking a parochial view of Armageddon if we allow ourselves to imagine that it is, primarily, a struggle for the independence of Belgium and the future of France. . . . It is . . . an issue so barbarous, so remote from any real interest or concern of our daily life in these islands, that I can only marvel at the illusions and curse the fatality which have made us belligerents in this struggle. . . . A mechanical fatality has forced France into this struggle, and a comradeship, translated by secret commitments into a defensive alliance, has brought us into the war in her wake,—it is no real concern of hers or of ours. . . . No call of the blood, no imperious calculation of self-interest, no hope for the future of mankind require us to side with Slav against Teuton. . . . Enthusiasts for this hateful war may applaud it as an effort to destroy German militarism,—this is a meaningless phrase.

All the pamphlets from which the above quotations are made are issued and circulated in England by the Union of Democratic Control.

It is not pretended that these quotations give even a part of the argument or express the spirit of these extraordinary pamphlets. The notable fact is that such statements were made in print under the names of reputable Englishmen and scattered broadcast throughout the United Kingdom during the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. MacDonald here refers undoubtedly to Bernhardi's book.

close of the first period of the war. This fact is here set down because it cannot be ignored in drawing the outlines of the British situation as it existed in March, 1915, and also because of the forcible contrast it presented with the state of French or German opinion.

#### POPULAR COMMENT ON GERMANY

Most of the press was decidedly warlike and whetted to a keen edge of bitterness. "The Huns" was the term commonly applied to the Germans, and this, too, by respectable and important newspapers. One favorite description of the Germans was "The Pirates." An influential journal called Germany "Europe's kitchen-wench decked in her mistress's clothes and trespassing in the drawing-room." Yet even the most beligerent papers occasionally lashed out in criticism of the government and bewailed conditions—much more so than American newspapers do.

While moderate-minded men who heartily support the war frowned upon extravagant epithets, it seemed probable that they express the feelings of great numbers of ultrawarlike people. *John Bull*, a penny weekly said to have immense circulation, voiced this militant view in sledge-hammer fashion. It said that the "Kaiser is a lunatic"; it called him "The Butcher of Berlin," "that mongrel Attila," who "will be known to infamy forever as 'William the Damned,'" and asserted that "no principle of equity would be outraged if he were blown from the cannon's mouth."

This popular war weekly assumed, of course, that the Allies would soon overwhelm Germany—nothing else was thinkable; and *John Bull* thus editorially sketched for the British eye "The Glory That Shall Be":

This war is the precursor of a new era for the British race and Empire. . . . The German fleet must be swept from the face of the seas. . . . No false notions of humanity or of economy must be permitted to hinder the work of destruction. . . . From the close of this war Germany shall use the waterways of the world by the courtesy of Britain. And, when it comes to peace, we must assert ourselves as the predominant partner. . . . For the Huns there can be no re-admission to the free commonwealth of Europe. . . . Britain shall recover her challenged supremacy in the western fraternity of nations. . . . *We shall not disarm.*

In an editorial entitled "Not a Vestige of the German Empire to Be Left," *John Bull* declared that Germany "must be wiped off the map of Europe." In still another

editorial it described the doom of Germany and the destiny of Great Britain according to the divine plan:

"God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform," and the wonder He is now performing is the riddance of Europe, and mankind, of the Teutonic menace to His scheme of things. That scheme, as clearly as human intelligence can comprehend anything, was and is that, for good or ill, He has placed the destiny of the earth in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race, with the Latins as their natural allies. All else is accidental, or caprice; it cannot affect the final order of the world.

The labor papers struck quite a different chord. In an editorial, "The Atrocious Atrocity Stories," the *Herald* [London] declared that the mutilation horrors first published

served well their two-fold purpose. They were at one and the same time a stimulus to recruiting and the gratification of that particular species of lustful insanity which in times of peace takes its pleasures in other and equally infamous forms. But when it was discovered that these stories were not only incapable of proof, but that the vast majority of them were capable of disproof; when there was a provoking absence of handless children, searched the mongers never so hard, there was a reaction to decent silence, but not for long. This time the stories concern themselves with a wholesale outraging of nuns and school-girls. . . . Make but your lie infamous and vile enough, and it will be believed. So much was proved up to the hilt in the earlier series of stories; so much is being proved in the later. As before, every town and village sheltered handless children, so now every convent is supposed to harbor outraged and pregnant nuns. Yet not one solitary case of either infamy has been produced that could survive the easiest scrutiny, and not one will be produced.

In March, 1915, there was in England no such solid and unbroken certainty of victory as was found in either France or Germany. Still, the bulk of British opinion was sure and undoubting. "So far as the result is concerned, the war is over now," said one of the most influential men in the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

On the contrary, in an uncommonly thoughtful and frank leader the *London Post* analyzed the situation and, while concluding that the Allies will be victorious, said:

But we admit that Fate hangs upon a fine edge, and there is no certainty in the matter; there is only hope and determination. . . . We have just barely held our own. . . . It must be a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together if the enemy is to be hoisted across the border.

<sup>1</sup> This conversation occurred March 11, 1915.

While such expressions were frequent, yet it is believed that they did not reflect the general feeling; most people in England had sturdy faith in the success of the Allies. But it was undeniable that doubt did exist in some minds and that weariness of the war was affecting many who were its staunch supporters.

#### "BUSINESS AS USUAL"

Another surface contrast of conditions impressed with uncanny grotesqueness the observer fresh from France and Germany. The greatest war in the whole course of human history lacked but four months of its first year of carnage; grave editorials penned, one might almost say, with the heart's blood of the writers, so sincere was their appeal, informed the nation that its existence was at hazard, and the people that poverty, humiliation, and slavery would be the result of defeat; yet sport and games of all kinds were going on as usual. Bitter lashings from press, pulpit, and rostrum had not turned the British youth from his favorite amusements.

Against loud protests from newspapers and public men, England's premier sporting institution, the Jockey Club, resolved on March 16 "that racing should be carried out where the local conditions permit." The Jockey Club's debate filled an entire page of the *Daily Telegraph*. One of the best-known peers of the realm, in his argument for holding the meet as usual, said that

the Russians have been going on racing during the whole period of the war, the Belgians had large studs in this country and were racing as hard as they could, the Grand Duke Nicholas, as has already been mentioned at the meeting, ran a greyhound in the Waterloo Cup, etc., etc., etc.

The prevailing opinion was that to discontinue racing for the war would discourage the breeding of fine horseflesh, disappoint the lovers of sport, and give the Germans the impression that the British people were downhearted.

Still another contrast was the condition of British business. It was much better than that of Germany and out of all proportion to that of France. The casual observer could detect little difference in business between that of peace time and that of this hour of Great Britain's deadliest emergency. The catchword, "business as usual," coined by Lloyd George when Great Britain unleashed the dogs of war, seemed to catch the popular fancy.

At the very moment when the most desperate and dramatic efforts were being made to strengthen the British army and supply it with equipment, enthusiastic meetings of business men were planning the capture of German over-seas commerce and devising means for taking over the German dye industry.

While business men acquainted with trade conditions said that normal business had fallen off, yet their claim was plainly true that the volume of British business was greater than that of all the other countries at war put together. This, of course, was due to Great Britain's lordship of the seas,—a notable fact which British newspapers and magazines kept well in the front. For example, in an able editorial on another subject, the *Daily Telegraph* said: "We possess the control of the sea communications of the world"; and again that "we and not the enemy command the seas."

The above are a few examples of a long catalogue of dissimilarities between British war-time conditions and those of the two nations most closely locked in mortal combat on the other side of the Channel.

#### CANADA AS A CONTRAST

The end of those British conditions which have hampered military action and brought on one cabinet crisis does not yet appear to be in sight. On the contrary, other ministerial upheavals are not improbable. Indeed, they even may be looked for. There is, of course, a possibility that the "coalition" government may straighten out the tangle; but this is not likely,—the causes of discontent seem to be too deep, the differences too irreconcilable.

The United Kingdom might well look across the seas for inspiration and example. Canada is furnishing both. The unity of sentiment, the direct and unwavering purpose, the practical vigor and governmental efficiency displayed in the Dominion are object-lessons which the British Islands might copy to advantage. It must be remembered, of course, that Canada, whose conduct has been and is so admirable, has no such congestion of people, no such labor situation, no such food problem as that which confronts and all but confounds the mother country. But, even so, Canada is writing an immortal record of undivided loyalty to and self-sacrificing support of the British Empire, which is not apparent, in like degree, in the United Kingdom itself.

# THE WAR SPIRIT IN CANADA

BY J. P. GERRIE

[There is no man who understands Canadian life and sentiment better than the Rev. John Petrie Gerrie, who has at different times served the readers of this magazine with informing and trustworthy articles regarding affairs in the Dominion. Two months ago he told us of the stirring movement for prohibition, especially in the great agricultural states of the new northwest. He was for a long time identified with affairs in the province of Ontario, and is a graduate of McGill University. For six years he was the editor of the *Canadian Congregationalist*. For the past four years he has been in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and is now at Edmonton, where there is a large training camp for recruits. His son is fighting with the Canadian troops in France. —THE EDITOR.]

CANADA is essentially peace-loving and peace-living. The absence of forts, defenses, and every semblance of militarism on a 3000-mile border-line of a country which outnumbered us twelve to one indicates this. The centenary of peace between the two lands was first publicly proposed by one of our rising young statesmen, the Hon. W. Mackenzie King, in an address on receiving his Ph.D. degree from Harvard a few years ago. The proposal has been enthusiastically taken up, and very fervent utterances have been heard from both countries that never again will a hostile shot be fired across the line, nor an invading force enter either border. We have confidence in our neighbors and they in us.

Neither was there any thought of war with Germany. Many thousands from that land are law-abiding, industrious citizens, and no class of non-Anglo-Saxon people have been more cordially welcomed to the Dominion. To date these people are largely as before. There is no apparent difference in their attitude to ourselves, nor in ours to them. A young German, a little more than a year from his fatherland, approached the writer at the outbreak of the war, and expressed concern about an expected unkind attitude toward himself. He was answered that he was here to be a Canadian, and as such to attend to his own business in the usual way and no one would molest him. I have met him on several occasions since that date, and again as I write this paragraph he is at the desk, and I find that the advice first given him has been borne out in his every experience. There is no disposition to beget mistrust or strife with our German citizens unless invited by their own conduct.

## WHY CANADA VOLUNTEERED

And even after the war broke out there was no legal nor constitutional reason to call

Canada into the war. In our relationship with England we have the fullest and freest autonomy, or as Kipling put it, even as far back as 1897, in his "Lady of the Snows":

"Daughter am I in my Mother's house,  
But mistress in my own."

This was before our marvelous development and the sounding of our new national note. It is equally true to-day. Nor did the fear of Germany impel us to a part in the war. With the British fleet intact no invasion from that quarter could be possible. Friendly relations with Japan preclude danger from the Pacific, while the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, notwithstanding discussions pro and con, it is felt would become operative in case of any invasion for conquest. There is a feeling, too, that the Young Giant of the North would not be wanting in the event of such a home struggle.

It is not, therefore, a question of mere self-preservation from a power whose autocracy and militarism are the very antipodes of Canadian life and ideals. The daughter responds to the mother's need. But more, Canada, though autonomous, is yet an integral part of the British Empire. The ideals and institutions, the freedom and democracy are substantially one. Our two million French-Canadian people and many thousands of other citizens equally realize this. England's cause is, therefore, peculiarly our own.

## THE CANADIAN TROOPS HAVE MADE GOOD

Accordingly, when war broke out a former utterance of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was made good, that "When England is at war Canada is at war." This the veteran ex-Premier supplemented in Parliament at the time of the outbreak with the stirring slogan, "Ready, aye, ready," while the present Premier, Sir Robert Borden, rang out the as-

surging message of office,—“We await the issue with confidence,” nor has this confidence ever wavered in Parliament or country. With one voice both parties voted a preliminary war appropriation of \$50,000,000. Enlisting began, steady, sure, enthusiastic. The First Contingent of 31,200 men, nearly 10,000 more than was suggested by the Army Council, mobilized at Valcartier, Quebec, by September 1st; the middle of October saw them at Salisbury Plains, England, and a like date in February most of them in France and at the front. “A magnificent lot of men” was General Sir John French’s estimate of them, and this has been borne out by their heroic stand at Ypres-Langemarche where, according to the report of the War Office, “they saved the situation.” Very stirring are the English pictorial illustrations of these and subsequent engagements. *Punch* gives a full-page picture of a young soldier standing beside a machine-gun amid breaking shells, with tattered uniform, head bandaged, triumphantly determined, one hand holding aloft his rifle on the muzzle of which is his soldier cap, while the other grasps the Canadian-British flag. Underneath is the significant inscription:

CANADA!

Ypres: April 22-24, 1915.

Pictures in the *Illustrated London News* and other periodicals are equally eloquent in their tributes to Canadian worth and heroism. Following the First Contingent a Second and Third were soon mobilized, most of whom will probably be on their way to the front or actually there before the reader sees these lines. The immediate goal is 108,000, which will be more than doubled should the need arise. German atrocities, reported and confirmed, have been no deterrent, but rather a mighty incentive,—so also the hideous massacre of the *Lusitania’s* passengers,—men, women, and children. Canada’s terrible casualty list incites a fresh spirit of self-sacrifice and courage, and makes good Goldsmith’s lines on General Wolfe:

E’en now thou conquerest though dead,  
Since from thy tomb a thousand heroes rise.

#### ACTIVE PART TAKEN BY COLLEGE MEN

Some of the more specific features of the war spirit are of peculiar interest. First of all may be mentioned the attitude of the

colleges and universities. So foreign was the war spirit prior to the outbreak that there had been practically no military training of any kind for many years. This, too, was in face of a request from the Militia Department of the Dominion seven years ago that the universities do as some of them do in England, and train men for commissions in the army. McGill University, Montreal, alone took the matter up in lecture courses, but so wanting was the military spirit that at the end of six years’ effort only six men in that institution qualified, or an average of one a year.

War breaking out, the eighteen universities and the many colleges responded as one. Queen’s University of Kingston, which had an Engineers’ Corps of five years’ standing, sent a force of 170 students to drain and settle the camp at Valcartier for the First Contingent. Upwards of 156 students and eight members of the teaching staff are already in active service, while others will yet go from the training corps of 250 undergraduates organized last November. McGill at once took the matter up, organizing a provisional regiment of 1200 men, made up of 100 members of the teaching faculty, 200 graduates, and 900 undergraduates. Of these 150 are already abroad, 100 more on the way thither or in preparation to go, while two more groups of students will speedily follow. In addition to all this, subscriptions of \$25,000 have been made which it is expected will yet be raised to \$50,000. Toronto University had last session from 1800 to 2000 students in training, while already 307 are enlisted in active service. And so we might go on, but it will be sufficient to say that all the other universities are making proportionate contributions according to ability and size. From the nine or ten thousand men in the universities it is estimated that more than five thousand are under military training, and this does not include the theological and other colleges, who have also given freely up to fifty per cent. of their number. Thus it is that Canada is giving her best in body, intellect, and soul.

#### SERVICE OF THE Y. M. C. A.

The Young Men’s Christian Association likewise calls for special mention. A recent copy of the *British Weekly* is unsparing in its commendation of this service in the Old Land. Like tributes are earned for Association work among the soldiers in Canada. The day war was declared between England and Germany the machinery was set in mo-

tion. Eight efficient secretaries were speedily on the grounds at Valcartier helping with mobilization, and from a large central marquee rendering all manner of service for the men. Subsequent camps all over Canada have been manned by the Association, which has also given free use of the local buildings for gymnastic, bathing, swimming, and other purposes. The response of the soldiers in these particulars has been large and continuous. Instruction has also been given in colloquial French, First Aid to the Injured, practical military training and gymnastics, and in other things contributing to efficiency in soldier life. Nor has the more distinctively religious been lost sight of, the calls to which have been responded to with crowded houses and in other ways. It would be a long story to relate in detail the service of the Y. M. C. A. in the camp life of the Dominion, and its continuation with the men overseas in the hands of the thirteen secretaries who have journeyed with the soldiers.

#### GENEROUS PROVISION FOR SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

The Patriotic Fund is rightly a most interesting feature of Canada's relation to the war. Figures from the First Contingent showed that over 50 per cent. of the men had family relatives dependent upon them. Separate and independent organizations were immediately formed in many places for the care of these families. It soon became apparent that a cohesive national organization would much more effectively cope with the situation. Accordingly the Governor-General invited representative citizens from all over Canada to meet in conference in Ottawa. The immediate outcome was the formation of the Canadian Patriotic Fund with headquarters in that city, and the Finance Minister of the Dominion as treasurer. Branches have been organized from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the boundary line to the most northerly center, and are giving splendid service. Because of the inequality of different points in recruiting and subscribing, the general principle has been adopted to "raise what you can and draw what you need." In this "raising" many of the smaller places have subscribed from one to seven dollars per individual, while five large eastern cities promptly responded with a subscription list of \$3,500,000. Many of the payments are on the instalment plan, but the actual cash in sight up to the end of the year in addition to what has already been

received will amount to at least \$3,900,000.

In the "drawing," British, Newfoundland, French, Belgian, Russian, and Serbian reservists in the Dominion all stand upon equal footing with the distinctively Canadian enlistment, and in the apportionment, the family, need, and location will be determining factors. Coöperation is had with the Soldiers and Sailors Association in England, the British Imperial Relief Association of New England, and the Canadian Society in New York. Like committees are planned for other centers such as Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Detroit, and other cities where Canada is well represented by present and former citizens. In the bestowal of the funds every semblance of charity is eliminated, inasmuch as every loyal Canadian feels himself under obligation to make some contribution either in enlisting, or in donating from his means. The fund is, therefore, a just obligation to the self-sacrifice of women, children, and dependents of the men at the front, many of whom will never return for their support. This self-sacrifice will, in many cases, be infinitely more than that of those who give liberally of their means, so that charity is banished from the minds of both the giver and the recipient.

#### RED CROSS WORK

The Red Cross has likewise won for itself an enviable name. At the very beginning of the war the organization became more than busy, and has continued on its way with ever-increasing usefulness. A center was at once opened in London, England, which became the recipient of all manner of articles from the Dominion for sick and wounded soldiers. Among these were full equipments for a hospital at Taplow, a score of motor ambulances, and large sums of money for undesignated needs. Another hospital, the Duchess of Connaught's hospital, was opened at Cliveden, where Mr. Waldorf Astor gave the free use of Taplow Lodge and splendid grounds, and in addition made costly changes for hospital efficiency, while the Red Cross Society supplied the equipment, which is a marvel in its completeness and efficiency. Canadian doctors and nurses are at the helm, and nothing is wanting which skill and experience can supply in caring for the sick and suffering.

The Information Department acts as a medium between the patient and the War Office and through the office with friends and relatives. So efficient is this bureau that it calls forth the commendation of the Lon-

don press in the words: "It is typical of Canadian thoroughness." At the seat of war the service of the society has been no less significant, while in Canada the work goes on from ocean to ocean with unabated interest. Churches, the press, organizations of various kinds, and individuals have vied with one another in contributing their quota. Though a voluntary organization, it is yet through its act of incorporation responsible to the Minister of Militia for reports of the work performed, but no report can detail the far-reaching influences of its ministrations.

#### COUNTRY BEFORE PARTY!

And now as to present feeling. From the very first Canada was heart and soul in the struggle, but never with the tremendous seriousness of now, and never with so unwavering confidence of absolute triumph as to-day. A great nation running amuck, and with her, her allies even to the "Unspeakable Turk," in murder and massacre,—alienating every vestige of sympathy from the neutral powers, cannot but be broken in pieces. The cost to the opposing forces is terrible, and Canada has had her baptism of blood, but she is ready to pay the price and will emerge from the conflict a better Canada. She will stand in a world which has learned the lesson of peace that she has sought long to know, in learning war no more. Her many diverse peoples, through a oneness of interests, and community of suffering, will find common ground as never in the past. With a new love and interest she will view the multitudes of immigrants from her allied nations who will worthily recip-

rocate these ennobled feelings. Nor will there be other than kindly feelings toward the German and Austrian people as a whole. Our quarrel is not with them as a people. When the rage and fury of the war is over they will have time to think, and in no far future day they will come again to the land which so many of their own countrymen now love so well.

In the meantime the fiery furnace, seven times heated in a common cause with our allied forces, will give new intensity to the "Melting Pot" which the Dominion has come to be. Her varied peoples, welded by a common suffering, joined in the oneness of conflict, will be indissolubly united in the pathways of peace, as together they make a more prosperous and better Canada. And more, there has been the burying of party rancor and strife of a type never to be resurrected. In the old land, Liberal and Unionist, Nationalist and Laborite are one in the struggle. A coalition government of the strongest of the best is at the nation's helm. In Canada we have something of the same attitude in the opposition abstaining from all

undue criticism, and responding with their best in coöperation and counsel. In the usual course of events, too, a general election would be near at hand, and much as the veteran ex-premier might have welcomed this but for the war, he now says: "No, I shall not unlock the door of office with the key of blood." Shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, the two party leaders stand. It is not party but country first, and with this splendid union of parties and of peoples, the Canada to be will be lifted high above the Canada that has been.



A TRIBUTE TO CANADA FROM "PUNCH"  
(See page 60)

# THE BALKANS AND THE WAR

BY DR. IVAN YOVITCHÉVITCH

(Secretary-General of the Council of State of Montenegro)

[This brief statement giving the point of view of the distinguished Montenegrin statesman is most interesting when read in connection with Mr. Stoddard's article that immediately follows. Mails come slowly from Montenegro, and this was written before Italy's decision.—THE EDITOR.]

CERTAIN predictions in an article of mine which appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in its issue of March, 1915, are beginning to be realized. Turkey is the point in question here, and in writing these lines I am reminded of the desperate cry: "The end of Poland!" wrung from the lips of the great Polish hero, Kosciuszko, after the Battle of Maciejowice in 1794. Well, the moment is nigh when the Turkish adventurer, Enver Pasha, will have to utter a like cry: "The end of Turkey!"—thanks to bad politics. The fall of Constantinople, then, is inevitable, and its inhabitants would cry out in vain, following the example of the Romans, who kept exclaiming at every impending danger "Hannibal at the gates!" for nothing can any longer save Constantinople and, consequently, prevent Turkey's dismemberment.

## THE BAD POLICY OF GREECE

The approaching fall of Constantinople has aroused the greatest agitation in the neutral Balkan States, and it seems, moreover, as if their statesmen had lost their bearings, no longer knowing the path to take that would make for their advantage in this complicated maze of events. Thanks to the wisdom of the eminent Greek statesman, Venizelos, Greece had, indeed, chosen the only rational and profitable road,—that is, to enter into action for the capture of Constantinople. In thus abandoning her neutrality and ranging herself on the side of Russia and its allies, Greece would have gained, on the settlement of Turkey's status, the province of Smyrna and perhaps other districts along the coast of Asia Minor which are largely peopled by Greeks.

Unfortunately for Greece, Venizelos' ingenious plan failed, owing to the intrigues of German diplomacy which, as is evidenced by that fact, is still very influential in directing the policy of certain Balkan States. But directing the Hellenic policy may, according to advices from Berlin, prove most disastrous to Greece. There is no longer question of an increase of Greek territory at the ex-

pense of Turkey; she could never obtain that without entering into action against Turkey and, consequently, against its allies, but she may risk losing what she gained in the Balkan War. Everybody knows Bulgaria's aspirations regarding Macedonia, and as she can no longer hope to gain possession of Serbian Macedonia, since Serbia is protected by Russia and its allies, it is in the range of possibility that Bulgaria may take advantage of the isolation of Greece to obtain possession of Grecian Macedonia, and particularly of Salonica, which is very important to her.

Admitting the possibility of such a supposition, the question naturally arises: What would Greece do should she find herself attacked by Bulgaria, which might, as a preliminary step, secure the neutrality of Rumania? She would, in my opinion, have a troublous time, for the Greek army would be unable to hold out against the Bulgarian onset. In order, therefore, to avert a possible Bulgarian invasion and to obtain an assured compensation, Greece, in my judgment, ought to recall Venizelos to power,—the man who has given evidence of a remarkable diplomatic ability, the man who reorganized the Greek army and navy.

## BULGARIA IN DEADLOCK

The approaching fall of Constantinople has produced as great a consternation in Bulgaria as it has in Greece. The Bulgarian diplomats who proclaimed the neutrality of their country,—in expectation of a German and Austrian victory, upon which Bulgaria was to hurl itself upon Serbia in order to wrest Macedonia from her,—find themselves greatly embarrassed to-day in view of present events: the Allies, and the protectors of Serbia, before the gates of Constantinople. They know quite well that the fall of Constantinople would annihilate Turkey, diminish German political influence in the Balkans, and give the Allies a new stimulus. This turn of events has placed the Bulgarian diplomats in a most embarrassing position and Bulgaria in an *impasse*.

What is to be done, then, at present, to secure advantage to Bulgaria? Maintain its neutrality? That is useless! Attack Serbia? She is shielded by great and powerful protectors! Attack Turkey? Germany is still there to oppose that,—and her faithful agent, King Ferdinand, in particular, would not consent to betray his nation, that is, Germany. And it is presumable that should Radoslavov submit a plan similar to that which Venizelos submitted to King Constantine, he would be obliged to resign.

No matter, then, from what point one views the situation of Bulgaria, it is found to be most difficult. However, neither the King nor the other leaders of Bulgarian policy will escape with impunity should Bulgaria fail to obtain some real benefit, for the brave Bulgarian people will some day demand an accounting of their leaders,—the recent attempted assassination at Sofia was, for that matter, really nothing but a manifestation of popular discontent. In order, then, to escape from this difficult situation and reap a probable benefit for Bulgaria, will her statesmen make an attack upon Greece?

In surveying the embarrassing position of Bulgaria, such a possibility is, in my judg-

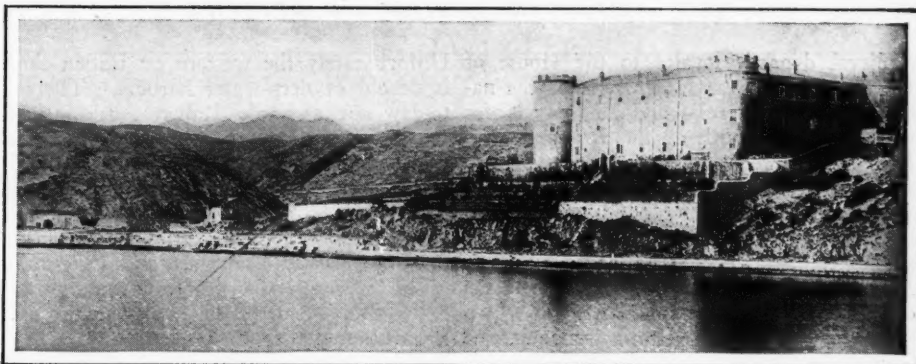
ment, excluded. It is to be hoped, however, that public opinion, which is altogether on the side of Russia, will gain the upper hand and compel the Bulgarian leaders to range themselves with Russia, securing for their country thereby the Turkish territory which the Bulgarians lost in the Balkan War.

#### RUMANIA IN AGITATION

The presence of the fleet of the Allies in the Dardanelles, Russia's preparation to send an army of attack to Constantinople, and the recent Russian experiences in Austria-Hungary have intensely aroused the Rumanian people, who desire to abandon neutrality and gain possession of the Austrian provinces inhabited by Rumanians. The government still remains undecided and mysterious, but everything points towards its yielding to the popular desire of the nation as soon as Italy should enter into action, and that country is indeed preparing to lay her hand upon the Austrian provinces for whose possession she is so ardently anxious. The entrance of Italy into the war will not fail to influence Rumania and, consequently, Greece and Bulgaria, who will likewise wish to abandon neutrality and follow Italy's course.



IN THIS MAP THE AREAS MARKED "TO SERBIA," "TO BULGARIA," "TO GREECE," AND "TO RUMANIA" SHOW THE CHANGES RESULTING FROM THE TWO RECENT BALKAN WARS. ALBANIA WAS THEN CREATED, AND MONTENEGRO GAINED SOME TERRITORY. THE MAP WILL BE FOUND CONVENIENT IN READING MR. STODDARD'S ARTICLE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES.



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

THE PORT OF FIUME, ONE OF AUSTRIA'S POSSESSIONS ON THE EASTERN SHORE OF THE ADRIATIC

# ITALY AND HER RIVALS

THE ITALIAN PROGRAM OF EXPANSION IN ITS RELATION TO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKAN STATES

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

[Our readers will find in this article a succinct and exceedingly valuable analysis of the political, racial, and territorial problems involved in Italy's entrance into the war as an associate of the Allies against the Teutonic empires and Turkey. In our issue for last November Mr. Stoddard wrote upon Italy's past relations to the European powers, and presented the arguments for and against her neutrality in the present war, as then dividing public opinion.—THE EDITOR.]

THE following article aims at giving a brief analysis of the political possibilities involved in Italy's entrance into the European war and the reactions of this new situation, particularly upon the Balkan States. It leaves technical problems of strategy for treatment elsewhere in this issue, confining itself to the political aspects of the question.

Multifarious as are Italy's aims and aspirations in the present war, they divide logically according to geographical situation. These fields of Italian interest are: (1) South Tyrol, (2) the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic littoral, (3) Albania, (4) the Levant. Each of these fields presents such special problems that separate treatment is necessary.

## SOUTH TYROL, A TEUTONIC COMMUNITY

The Austrian province of Tyrol is geographically divided into two distinct parts by the high mountain range known as the Tyrolean Alps, running roughly east and west along latitude 47 and pierced by only one practicable gateway, the famous Brenner Pass. The greater part of the province thus lies south of the range and is known as "South Tyrol." Its rivers flow into Italy and the climate is distinctly southern in character. The ideal strategic nature of the Tyrolean Alps has caused Italians to see in them the "natural" frontier of Italy and

to demand the acquisition of the whole of South Tyrol right up to the Brenner Pass.

Unfortunately for Italian aspirations, the geographical configuration of Tyrol by no means corresponds to the racial character of its inhabitants. The greater part of South Tyrol is inhabited by a population of Teutonic stock racially as keenly self-conscious as any people in the world. Only the extreme southern part of the province (the district known as "Trentino") is racially Italian. This fact must be kept clearly in mind, owing to Italian efforts to befog the issue by using the term "Trentino" to describe the whole region south of the Brenner Pass, thus inducing the idea that the entire country is racially Italian. As a matter of fact nothing could be farther from the truth.

The Trentino proper, despite the fact that its political history has virtually never been bound up with that of the peninsula of Italy, is a thoroughly Italian region, and the majority of its inhabitants would welcome Italian annexation. But about half way between the cities of Trent and Botzen the race-frontier runs clear and sharp athwart the country; and everything north of this line is consciously, aggressively German.

These Teutonic South Tyrolers are animated not merely by an intense race pride and local patriotism, but also by a truly

medieval dynastic loyalty to the House of Hapsburg. Andreas Hofer remains the national hero of Tyrol,—and Andreas Hofer was born well south of the Brenner Pass. Every year a folk-play depicting the life of Andreas Hofer is produced at the South Tyrolean city of Meran, and anyone who has there noted the fervor of the peasant-actors, comparable to that of the Passion Players of Oberammergau, knows that the old spirit lives on unchanged.

For this reason an Italian conquest of South Tyrol would unquestionably involve a frightful race-tragedy. I know the country well, and I am certain that the Teutonic South Tyrolese would prefer death to Italian rule. The only way by which Italy could secure her strategic Brenner line would be the rooting out of this essentially fanatical population and its replacement by Italians.

#### THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ADRIATIC COAST

This field presents in itself a whole nexus of problems. Geographically it is a very long but extremely narrow ribbon of rocky coast, isles, and headlands, running some four hundred miles along the eastern Adriatic shore, backed by lofty mountains which cut it off from easy connection with the hinterland. Its past history has been highly complex.

That part nearest the Italian frontier, with its capital Trieste, has, like Trentino, been for centuries politically connected with the Teutonic world. The other chief east-coast city, Fiume, has been similarly connected with Hungary. Other districts, like Ragusa, were independent states till comparatively recent times.

Italy's political claims upon this region are derived from the Republic of Venice, which once possessed much of this littoral, notably the western half of the Istrian peninsula jutting out between Trieste and Fiume, the major part of Dalmatia, and most of the island fringe off the coasts. There can be no doubt that until recently the whole coast was culturally Italian.

The hinterland, however, has always been Slav, and since the Slav awakening in the middle of the last century, Italianism has steadily lost ground till to-day it survives only in the larger coast towns and on the isles and headlands. This loss of old Italian culture-ground has tortured Italian patriots, while the political consequences have alarmed Italian statesmen.

One of the cardinal points of Italian foreign policy is predominance in the Adriatic.

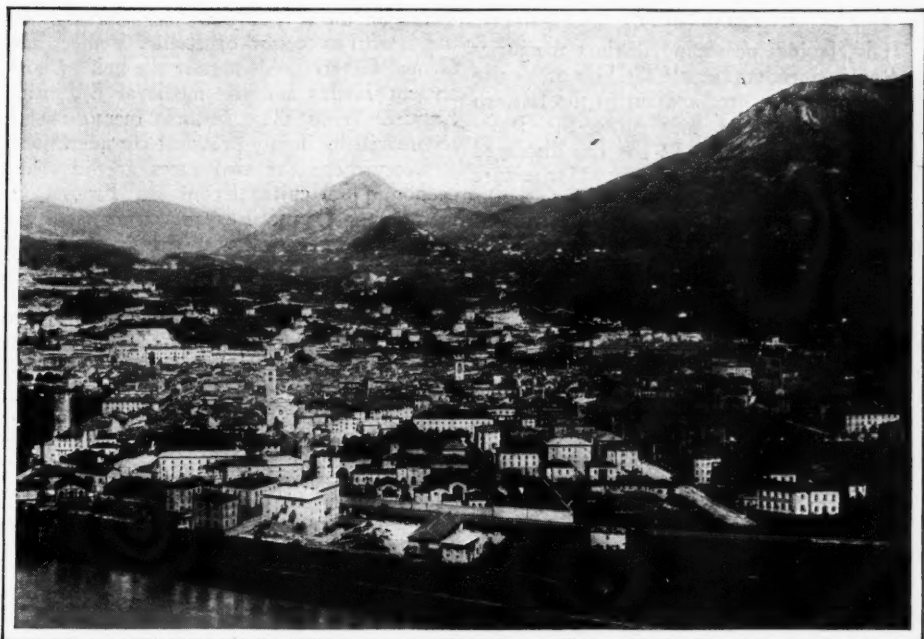
Unfortunately the western or Italian shore is devoid of deep-water harbors. There is to-day not a single Italian Adriatic port capable of serving as a "dreadnought" naval base. The east coast, however, abounds in splendid and easily defended harbors of this type.

Now the complete defeat of Austria in the present war would normally mean the union of all the South Slav peoples in some sort of Serbo-Croat Confederacy which might have a population of 15,000,000 souls. The natural coast-line of that new State would be just the present Austro-Hungarian littoral, whose racial complexion is, as we have seen, a broken string of Italian patches upon a solid Slav background. Trieste is a striking case in point. The city itself is predominantly Italian, but the enclosing hills are Slav, and even within the walls the Slav element is gaining on the Italian.

In view of all this, Italy feels that she must take some preventive action, since a triumphant young Serbo-Croat Empire (itself the ally of an enlarged Russian Empire), once in possession of the Adriatic east-coast harbors, might be a greater menace than the present Austria-Hungary. It is obvious that were Italy to tip the scales in favor of the Allies they could not well deny her a free hand in the Adriatic; and Adriatic supremacy would mean a tremendous triumph for Italy.

Still, there is a reverse side to the picture. We already know the fatal hatred aroused in Serbia by Austria's refusal to let her obtain access to the Adriatic. How much more dangerous would be the hatred of a Greater Serbia for an Italy which had stepped into Austria's shoes! It may be, of course, that Italy will resign the Dalmatian harbors and run the risk of a future Serb navy rather than invite a Serb vendetta.

But even then her troubles are not over. If she takes Fiume she shuts off Hungary from the sea, while the possession of the lone Austrian port of Trieste will imply Austria's economic strangulation. Of course it can be argued that in case of an Allied victory Austria-Hungary will cease to exist; but, even admitting this, some power or powers have got to own the vast Danube hinterlands, and these powers, whosoever they may be, will press towards their natural sea outlets as inevitably as water seeks its own level. Thus Italy's acquisition of any part of the present Austro-Hungarian Adriatic littoral is fraught with future perils, said perils increasing in direct proportion to the extent of acquired territory.



GENERAL VIEW OF TRENT

## ALBANIA AS A PRIZE OF WAR

Albania has long been earmarked by both Italy and Austria. A region of considerable natural resources, inhabited by a race of highland clansmen who have kept the country totally undeveloped by their endless internecine wars, this weak land of anarchy has been a tempting prize. In general, Austria had established her influence in northern Albania, while Italy was predominant in the center and south. In South Albania, it is true, the Greeks also had claims, but Greece was too small to stand in Italy's path.

The question naturally arises why Italy and Austria did not settle their disputes by dividing Albania between them. This would probably have been done but for the fact that Albania stretches clear down to the Straits of Otranto, the narrow waters connecting the Adriatic with the Mediterranean. Right at this point is located the magnificent harbor of Avlona. This obviously made any Austro-Italian division of Albania impossible. Were Italy to possess Avlona she would completely bottle up Austria by controlling both sides of the narrows; were Austria in possession she would dominate the straits because the flat Italian shore has no harbor fit for a corresponding naval base.

At the present moment, Austria being tem-

porarily out of the running, Italy has seized Avlona and various other points on the Albanian coast, and evidently intends to claim Albania as one of the spoils of war. She thus gains an enormous advantage by definitely closing the Adriatic; but, as in the Dalmatian field, there are corresponding disadvantages. If Austria survives she must, sooner or later, challenge this closing of her only exit to the outer world, while if she is replaced by a Greater Serbia the latter will inevitably step into Austria's shoes.

For that matter, the present Serbia has very definite Albanian aspirations of her own. In the Balkan War of 1912 she conquered most of Albania, nearly precipitated the present European cataclysm by her reluctance to withdraw, and retained clear rights to an economic outlet through Albania to the Adriatic Sea. At this very moment Serbian columns are again penetrating the Albanian hills. Is not this perhaps a check on the threatened Italian occupation of Albania? And, if the half-dead Serbia of to-day deems it necessary to divert some of her scanty forces for such a purpose, what would be the attitude of a Greater Serbia to-morrow? Furthermore, there are the Greek claims on South Albania, worthless to-day but perhaps presentable at some Italian hour of peril in the future.

## THE LEVANT

Italy, besides possessing distinct memories of Rome, considers herself the heir of Venice and Genoa, once predominant in the Eastern Mediterranean, and ever since the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12 she has displayed marked interest in this heritage. Her seizure of Rhodes and the island chain known as the "Dodekanese," stretching well out across the Egean Sea, has given her a firm foothold which she has been busily strengthening by every means in her power.

The adjoining southwest corner of Asia Minor has been frankly staked out as an Italian "sphere of influence," and this in turn has proved but the further base for an intensely active commercial and cultural campaign throughout the entire Levant, from Smyrna to Alexandria. Both England and France have shown considerable uneasiness and have done their best to get Italy out of her Egean foothold, but in vain.

Italy has made it clear that she intends to stay; and in the diplomatic duel which took place between Sir Edward Grey and the late Marquis di San Giuliano early in 1914, Sir Edward came off distinctly second best. This determination to play a major rôle in the Levant has unquestionably had a great deal to do with Italy's recent adhesion to the Allies' side.

The Allies have formally condemned Turkey to death, while the Teutonic powers stand for a revived and strengthened Turkey which would bode ill for Italian hopes in southwest Asia Minor and elsewhere. With the whole Ottoman Empire as it were on their auction block, the Allies have naturally had much to offer, and we may be sure that the shrewd Italian diplomats drove a close bargain for any assistance promised in Asia Minor or the Dardanelles.

## THE DEMANDS OF GREECE

It is evident that the vigorous entrance of a new power like Italy into the "Eastern Question" must arouse keen interest on all sides. This is true of all the Balkan States, but it is especially true of Greece. For Greek interests are not confined to the Balkan peninsula; they stretch over the entire Levant, and are not merely political in character but economic and cultural as well.

And, to all these Hellenic aspirations, Italy is the preëminently dangerous foe. We have already seen how Greek and Italian interests conflict in South Albania. But this is the merest side-issue compared with their truly momentous clash throughout the east Medi-

terranean basin. If Italy considers herself the lawful successor of Rome, Venice, and Genoa, Greece holds herself the heir of both ancient Hellas and the medieval Byzantine Empire. And these historic memories are reinforced by highly practical considerations.

Everywhere the two races are in sharp economic and cultural conflict. From Constantinople to the Egyptian Sudan, Greek merchants vie with Italian merchants, Greek banks with Italian banks, Greek steamship lines with Italian steamship lines. Even schools and hospitals are pressed into the service. Everything portends a thoroughgoing Greco-Italian rivalry as keen as that now being fought out between England and Germany; and the Greek and Italian peoples are coming to hate each other in the heartiest fashion.

The Italian occupation of Rhodes and the Dodekanese has made much bad blood. These islands are thoroughly Greek, ardently desire annexation to Hellas, and hate their Italian masters. Furthermore, the adjacent corner of Asia Minor, now patently staked out by Italy for her own, is also predominantly Greek in character, and has long been earmarked by Greece as a future Hellenic province.

It is highly probable that King Constantine's refusal to aid the Allies last spring was partly occasioned by Allied refusals to promise Greece just these Asia Minor territories. Should the Allies now have given their consent to the realization of Italy's aspirations in this quarter, the effect on Greek public opinion will be striking, and it would not be at all surprising if Mr. Venizelos should return to power the partisan of a very cool neutrality.

## THE OUTLOOK FOR BULGARIA

Since Bulgaria's interests are confined to the Balkan peninsula, she is not directly concerned in Italy's Levantine aspirations. The only way by which Italy's entrance into the war can vitally affect her attitude is the possibility of a Turkish collapse through the landing of Italian armies in Asia Minor and the Dardanelles. Bulgaria has no wish to see such an event take place. She prefers a reasonably strong Turkey as an ally against her enemies, Greece and Serbia, who took away what she desires more than anything else,—Macedonia and its Bulgar population.

Of course she would not mind having Adrianople once more, but in Bulgarian eyes Adrianople is dust in the balances as against Macedonia. To Turkey, on the other hand,

Adrianople is only less precious than Constantinople itself, and were Bulgaria to seize it she would make Turkey her mortal enemy and would thus have to abandon all hopes of gaining Macedonia by some future appeal to arms. However, if the landing of large Italian armies in Asia Minor and the Dardanelles should make unsupported Turkish resistance hopeless, Bulgaria might make the best of a bad business and seize Adrianople before it could fall into the Allies' hands.

Yet even this is by no means certain. An Allied triumph in the Near East probably signifies Russia at Constantinople, and this in turn means a Bulgaria gripped fast between a Greater Russia and a Greater Serbia, Russia's ally. For Bulgaria this prospect is a veritable nightmare, to avert which she would risk much. Should the Teutonic powers continue their victorious course against the Russian armies in Galicia and Poland, it would not be at all surprising to see Bulgaria strike in on Turkey's side, thus redressing the balance against Italy. This would be still more likely if Allied concessions to Italy in Asia Minor should drive Greece into sullen neutrality.

#### RUMANIA'S DILEMMA

Like Bulgaria, Rumania is only indirectly affected by Italy's entrance into the European war, though indirect effects sometimes have far-reaching consequences. Rumania's position is much like that of the traditional ass between the two bales of hay. To the west of her lies Austro-Hungarian Transylvania, to the east Russian Bessarabia, both of these provinces inhabited predominantly, though by no means exclusively, by Ru-

manians. Of course Rumania would like them both, but since this is impossible she has been cautiously waiting to see which appeared the safer prey.

Last winter, when the Russians seemed about to overrun Hungary, Rumania visibly stirred for a spring at Transylvania. Later on, the Teutonic victories at her very gates gave her pause. To-day she is closely watching the effect of Italy's onslaught upon Austria-Hungary. She is also interested in possible happenings at the Dardanelles.

Rumania, like Bulgaria, would greatly dislike to see Russia at Constantinople. She would then lie squarely in Russia's overland path, and should Austria-Hungary give way to a Slavized Central Europe, Rumania, even with Transylvania, would be but an isolated islet in the Slav ocean. Of course there are strong internal cross-currents which may modify her decision. But, looking at the matter from the standpoint of purely foreign policy, we may expect something like this: If Constantinople falls and the Teutonic allies fail in their stroke against Russia, Rumania will almost certainly strike for Transylvania. If Constantinople stands and Russia crumples up in Galicia and Poland, Rumania will as certainly strike for Bessarabia. In any other event Rumania will probably continue her present neutrality, although, as I have said, there are internal factors which may tip the scales one way or the other.

Such are the main political possibilities involved in Italy's entrance into the European war. They are, as we have seen, both far-reaching and complex. What the actual results will be, only time and the fortune of Italian arms can disclose.



CITY SQUARE IN TRIESTE SHOWING THE MAXIMILIAN MONUMENT

# MOSLEMS AND THE WAR

BY REV. GEORGE F. HERRICK, D.D.

[This is the fourth in a series of articles written by Dr. Herrick for this REVIEW. The titles of the three preceding are as follows: "The Turkish Crisis and American Interests," October, 1914; "Turkey and Her Friends," December, 1914; "Constantinople and the Turks," April, 1915.—THE EDITOR.]

THE period of time in which we live is full of surprises. We are growing accustomed to the unexpected. Wise men hesitate to assume the rôle of the prophet. It is more than most of us are able to do to measure the significance of events as they occur. Any attempt, therefore, to throw light upon the attitude of the vast number of Mohammedans affected by the war may seem rash.

But if we are able, by personal contact, and by following the public utterances, guarded though they may be, of representative Mohammedans, to keep in vital touch with events and conditions in the Moslem world, we may perhaps discover that changes have been taking place in recent years among Mussulman peoples in Asia and Africa, changes greatly accelerated by the present war, which are of profound significance in the evolution of human history.

## FAILURE OF THE JIHAD CALL

The men in the government saddle at Constantinople last November issued a call to Moslems everywhere to rally in revolt against their alien rulers. The call was lost in the air. It met with response nowhere. The frantic effort failed utterly. It is important for us, if it be possible, to find the real meaning of this outcome of a plan from which so much was hoped.

We have been accustomed for many years to see on the part of the Moslems of Turkey, of Egypt, and of India an acceptance of aid from Christian nations in material things accompanied by a firm attitude of fidelity to their ancestral faith, and with a revulsion from our religion.

Very few even of the most intelligent among them have been able in the past to understand Christian teaching or to appreciate the constituent elements of truly Christian character.

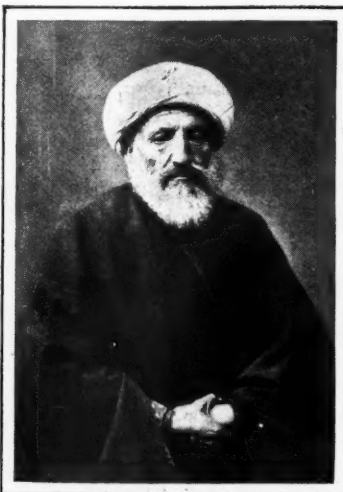
The events now taking place in Europe have intensified Moslem revulsion from European Christianity and deepened their conviction of the supreme excellence of their own religion.

Why, then, have Moslems who are subjects of Christian governments turned a deaf ear to the call of the Caliph and remained loyal to the governments under which they live?

We may interpret the loyalty to their rulers of Moslems under the dominion of England, France, and Russia as meaning that they know that listening to Turkey's appeal would imperil their material interests. Yes, but is this a sufficient explanation? It is very far from sufficient.

Men of the East have from time immemorial been accustomed to a governmental administration and to judicial procedure that made more of personal claims and money inducements than of the demands of right and justice, where, therefore, the rich had every advantage over the poor.

The rich men and men of rank in India and Egypt have of late years often been dazed at finding that neither rank nor wealth could move a judge a hair's-breadth from what the law and equity demanded. This has not made them love their Western rulers, but it has made them respect and trust them. Their experience under just government has now for two generations profoundly penetrated their thought and life.



ONE OF THE ULEMA—"THE LEARNED"

(The Ulema are the Moslem doctors of law, from whom the higher civil officers are also chosen. Their head is the Turkish Sheikh-ul-Islam, a state functionary second only to the Grand Vizier)

The Rev. Dr. J. P. Jones, whose judgment concerning conditions in India is of the greatest weight, writes me as follows:

Nearly half of the Moslem world is within the British Empire, and the appeal of the Turk for a Jihad was addressed chiefly to Moslems of that empire. It failed in India because the Moslems of India are led by men largely trained in Anglo-Saxon culture and ideas and imbued with many of the ideals of the British, which means ideals that are distinctly Christian.

The British Empire in this war is reaping the harvest of appreciation and loyalty from all its subject peoples, because it has so faithfully sowed among them the rich blessings of its own culture and civilization, the blessings of human rights and Christian principles.

#### HUMANITY OF THE MOSLEM

The Oriental Moslem is a shrewd judge of conduct. He may himself use language to conceal his thought, but he will applaud and trust a man whose yea is yea and whose nay is nay. Till a few years ago he was very suspicious of the emissaries of Western Christianity who had come to reside in his neighborhood. To-day he trusts these men far more than he does his own co-religionists.

It is, happily, a fact that the civil representatives of Western peoples in Eastern lands have, in recent years, generally been worthy examples of the high moral standards of Western civilization.

One reason for the recoil of Moslems and other Orientals from the war in Europe is their horror when brought face to face with the results of modern militarism. Asia has been many times overrun by conquering armies. But where in all the centuries can a parallel be found to what is now witnessed in Europe as the result of waging war with the scientific equipment of the present age? The militaristic doctrine and practise of Central Europe are utterly repellent to the Oriental mind.

Mohammedans have been guilty of killing innocent people, but it has been under provocation and when inflamed by passion. They do not deliberately *plan* the indiscriminate slaughter of people by thousands.

The commander of the Fourth Corps of the Turkish Army uses these words in his proclamation to the peoples of Palestine:

I order the Mohammedan races, who form the majority, to make proof of their patriotic sentiments by cordial relations with the Israelite and Christian elements of the population.

The goods, the life, the honor, and especially the individual rights of the subjects of the states at war with us are also under the guarantee of our national honor. I therefore shall not allow the least aggression against these either.

How is this from a military leader of a Moslem state?

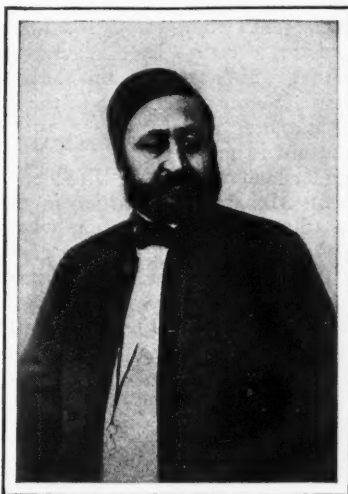
#### PRACTICAL VS. PROFESSED CHRISTIANITY

We have as yet barely touched the main factor of the change to which we would point in the new attitude of Mohammedans.

The leaders of thought in the Moslem world, while pointing the finger of scorn at the "Christian civilization of Europe," have distinguished between that and the Christianity of Christ's gospel as it is illustrated in the lives, the teaching, and the practical Christian philanthropy of Christians from the farther West who are living in their country now for many years in close and friendly relations with themselves. These Moslems, especially in these later years, have appreciated and profited by those philanthropic institutions, schools, hospitals, relief works established and conducted by these Christians.

To gain the confidence of people whose religion, language, and social customs are radically different from our own requires time, patience, and sincere sympathy, and we hardly expected Mohammedans so soon to distinguish between genuine Christianity and that which in Europe assumes the Christian name.

The number and the present strength of American philanthropic institutions established at almost every strategic center in Egypt and Western Asia are still to most Americans little known, yet these institutions are the chief factors of the emergence of the Moslems of those lands from the darkness and apathy and ignorance which have



AHMED VEFIK PASHA

(From whom the site of Robert College, in Constantinople, was purchased. He was a well-known, learned, and liberal Turkish diplomat)

prevailed for centuries. The present war is a tremendous eye-opener to those people. Suddenly and rudely awakened by the horrors of the war, groping in the dark, they cling to those they have learned to trust, to the true representatives of a vital Christianity, of a brotherhood which is all-inclusive. The East and the West have met in recognition of the fact that they are alike children of one family, the family of God.

The people of the West have, for the last two or three decades, been rushing so madly after material goods and material gain that they have been blind to the fact that many men of the East, naturally deeply if gropingly religious, are making surprising progress in a true appreciation of veritable spiritual values.

#### THE ORIENTAL A PALIMPSEST

Their desire for emancipation from Western domination is due to the fact that they possess aspirations which Western material prosperity fails to satisfy. Before we echo the words of a popular author, "East and West can never meet," would it not be well for us to be sure we understand what are the aspirations of thoughtful Mohammedans? The Moslem mind, the Oriental personality generally, is a palimpsest. We read the writing on the surface and think we know our man. No, the real man is not known till the text, which custom and fear and oppression have overlaid, is by long and close acquaintance and intelligent sympathy rendered legible.

The events now taking place in Europe are at once, for the Moslem, shattering European ideals, and turning his sympathetic attention to a more favorable examination of those Christian ideals illustrated before his eyes by those Christian philanthropists who have made their home in his country.

As to the masses of the Moslem people of the world, the vast majority of them are altogether illiterate. Neither the residence of Christians of the West among them nor

the efforts of those Christians for their enlightenment have as yet resulted in any marked change in their attitude towards Christians and Christianity.

But in the case of the rapidly increasing number of men who read and think it is hardly possible to overstate the significance and the extent of the change which is taking place in the attitude of these men towards what they see to be essential and vital in Christianity. Even the violence of the opposition of some among them to the emissaries of Christianity shows how their confidence in the value of their ancestral faith has been shaken.

It is not the material progress and prosperity of Christian nations which will induce Moslems to change their religion. The unique personality of Christ and the growing conviction of inquiring minds that He alone can satisfy the aspirations of the human soul have begun to draw Moslems to Himself, and the shock of this awful war will contribute to the same result.

#### AMERICANS AND THE NEARER EAST

A life-long residence of an American Christian in the Nearer East favors his anticipating what the future will reveal, and perhaps to give utterance to his anticipations will do no harm. The records of *Moslem empire* belong to the past of human history. The final scrolls are in the process of folding up. For Moslem peoples a brighter and better future is beginning to unfold. When the war is over, the justice and beneficence of those powers under whose government the large majority of Moslems now live will be gratefully appreciated by them. And in the countries of the Nearer East the actual work of remolding society, of encouraging, educating, uplifting the suffering, distracted, but still virile and hopeful races of our fellow-men will be found to be providentially committed to philanthropic Americans.

The people are still there in their great need, and *we are there among them.*





Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

PREPARING THE BASE FOR A PIECE OF HEAVY ARTILLERY IN THE GOTTHARD DISTRICT

# NEUTRAL SWITZERLAND

BY JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

[Professor Vincent, who holds the Chair of European History at the Johns Hopkins University, has been an authority on Swiss institutions for many years. His "State and Federal Government in Switzerland," the product of much research, was published in the Johns Hopkins "Studies in History and Political Science" as long ago as 1891. Dr. Vincent is one of the few Americans who are thoroughly informed on the details of Swiss administration and history.—THE EDITOR.]

FROM the beginning of the present war the problems of Switzerland have been serious, but since the entrance of Italy into the struggle the situation has become unique. A nation is completely surrounded by belligerents, without access to the sea and with no contact whatever with the outside neutral world. The immediate problems are the preservation of Swiss neutrality and the maintenance of supplies for food and industry.

The neutrality of Switzerland is recognized by international treaties and by political practise since 1815, but the tradition is still older. For two centuries before this the state had ceased to take sides as a nation, yet the enlistment of Swiss soldiers in foreign armies had continued, and at times the country was so dominated by outsiders that its neutrality was hardly visible. Such was the case in the time of Napoleon I., and in conse-

quence the powers in 1813 demanded that Switzerland should show her good faith by maintaining an army of at least 30,000 to prevent the use of her territory for military operations. For a century, therefore, the Swiss have been in coöperation with the other nations of Europe in upholding a principle which is vital to their own existence and important to the welfare of their neighbors.

## NATURE'S BARRIERS

National defense is no light burden upon a state of less than four million inhabitants, although the nature of the country lends assistance. The mountainous boundaries which surround the Swiss on three sides are valuable allies, but the low-lying country on the north from Basel to the Lake of Constance is seriously exposed. This is the part which in the past has tempted the Germans and French to try flank movements, and

where the Rhine would be only a hindrance, not a prevention of invasion. Between 1663 and 1710 at least seven expeditions of considerable military importance marched across that portion of Switzerland, without regard to the feelings of the inhabitants. Since 1815 the neutrality of that region has been, on the whole, observed, but the Swiss have maintained the greatest possible watchfulness during periods of war.

The Alpine passes are approached by fine, broad roads of comparatively easy grade and could be readily mounted by armies and their artillery, but this must be done in single column and the risk to an enemy would be tremendous. At several points long tunnels admit railways and the obstacles to peaceful commerce have been removed. No war has brought the tunnel to the test of defense, but every preparation has been made to stop the entrance of an enemy. Elaborate fortifications upon the St. Gotthard command both the road and the railway, while the Rhone valley is defended by similar works at St. Maurice and Martigny.

On the southeastern border the Swiss soldiers must stand within a few yards of the road and watch the Italians and Austrians contend for the Stelvio Pass at a height of 10,000 feet. On the south the boundary is complicated by the lakes which extend from Italy or France into Swiss territory. Along Lake Geneva a wide, neutral zone has been maintained for years, both in commerce and in defense, but the situation is none the less delicate between Switzerland and France.

#### HEAVY COST OF MOBILIZATION

Since August 3 the Swiss have been obliged to assume a posture of defense along the whole of their extremely tortuous boundary. At that time the war department practically took charge of the railways. The change from the civil to the military situa-

tion was a comparatively easy matter, because the greater part of the system is owned and managed by the government. After the first mobilization traffic resumed something of its normal regularity, but for a fortnight the public knew not the use of rails.

The cost of the occupation of its frontier is rising to a tremendous sum for a small nation. In 1870-71 the expense of mobilization was estimated at about ten million francs; and that war increased the public debt altogether about 15,600,000 francs. These sums now seem ridiculous. Already

the Swiss Government has placed one loan of thirty million francs and another of fifty millions, yet the solidity of the country is well proved under severe test by the wise actions of its financial institutions, led by the Federal National Bank.

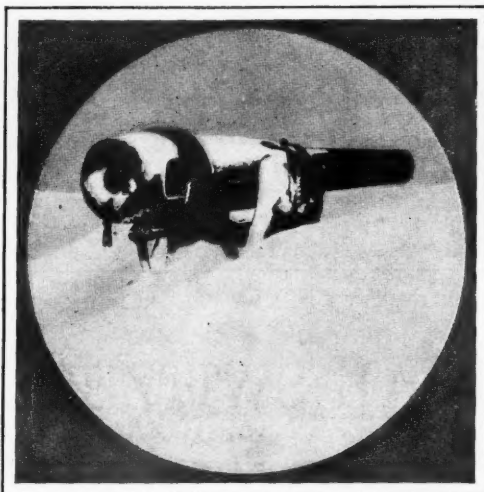
#### PASSAGE OF FOREIGN TROOPS FORBIDDEN

The attitude of the Swiss Government toward all belligerents has been absolutely correct. Its defini-

tion of neutrality has been slowly perfected during the past half-century. Every trace of the historic military capitulation with outside nations has been removed. The passage of foreign troops is prohibited. The new Confederation of 1848 attempted at first to stop the passage of persons not in uniform, but in view of the risk of thus acting in the service of one or another belligerent, it is now left to each country to prevent the escape of hostile reservists.

#### SALE OF GUNS AND AMMUNITION PROHIBITED

In other countries of Europe the sale of arms and war materials by neutral contractors to warring nations is permissible. Switzerland has attempted to prevent this traffic, but the prohibition has been actually limited to guns and ammunition. Ordinary provisions are not stopped, and even the sale



A SWISS HOWITZER IN THE JURA MOUNTAINS, SO MOUNTED THAT IT CAN BE POINTED EITHER TOWARD GERMANY OR TOWARD FRANCE



© American Press Association

SWISS TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH THE CITY OF BASLE

of horses and harness is unrestricted. The situation shows an attempt to avoid trouble more than the maintenance of a new code of war. The fact that the sale of powder and explosives is a government monopoly would make the authorities cautious. The state also manufactures its own munitions in two large federal establishments.

The passing of goods from one foreign country to another through Switzerland offers a serious problem, and this is only slightly simplified by the entrance of Italy into the war. Hitherto no restrictions have been placed on through freight, but traffic between Italy and Germany will be stopped at the source. As to communication the government has not attempted to stop the mails, but is better able to regulate the use of the telegraph and telephone. Swiss territory may not be used as a base for obtaining or spreading information for hostile purposes, either by wire or by aviators. The Allies have already apologised for unintentional trespass over an invisible atmospheric frontier.

#### MATERIALS THAT MUST BE IMPORTED

The most serious question is the maintenance of the food supply, for Switzerland does not raise enough for her own use. Not a pound of coal or iron is produced in the country. Supplies of cotton and wool must

come from outside to keep the industries busy, and Switzerland must depend on the good graces of one or another of the belligerents. Newspapers last month reported that arrangements had been made with Italy permitting materials to come through from the Mediterranean.

Switzerland may suffer from the violent partisanship shown by the press. The German-speaking population is the more numerous, and in spite of the government's repeated warnings public expression on both sides has been bitter. A few newspapers have been suppressed, but now the good will of the Allies must be assiduously cultivated, for they control the sources of foreign supply.

#### HELPING FUGITIVES AND PRISONERS OF WAR

At the same time the Swiss have rendered enormous services to both sides in the care of fugitives and exchange of prisoners. The French inhabitants on the war front have been shipped into Switzerland by thousands in a most forlorn condition. The care of these victims has appealed deeply to public and private charity. The municipality of Zürich alone appropriated \$30,000 a month to help the foreign refugees on their way to southern France.

In the midst of all this turmoil there is not the slightest probability that the Swiss will

be led into war on one side or another. The three races are a unit in the defense of their neutrality. Germans, French and Italians would rise as one man to resist an invader, and for this purpose they have perfected a military system which evokes the respect of larger nations.

#### THE MILITIA SYSTEM

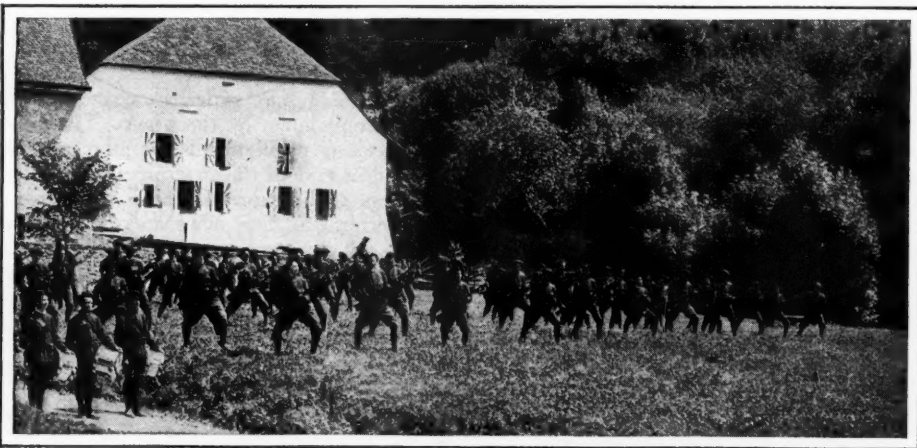
The national militia calls into service every able-bodied youth in the confederation, and those who are exempted through physical disability must pay a tax instead. Actual training begins at the age of twenty with the school of recruits, which lasts from sixty-five to ninety days during the first year, according to the branch of service. For the subsequent seven or eight years the ordinary recruit is called out for eleven days annually and is then excused from further training. Officers continue longer as instructors. For twelve years the soldier is classed in the "Auszug" or "Élite," for eight years more in the "Landwehr" or second defense, and for another eight years in the "Landsturm." Liability for service ends at the age of forty-eight, but all males may be called out in case of dire necessity.

As a matter of fact gymnastic training with the service in view begins in the schools,

and every effort is made to produce a vigorous nation from youth to middle age. During the years of liability every man must have a fixed amount of rifle practise, and shooting clubs are encouraged in every way. The national "Schützenfest" is an institution that goes back to the days of the crossbow, and every village has its targets. The soldier keeps his outfit in his own possession and is instantly ready.

The financial and industrial burden is reduced by the short periods of service, and at the same time every citizen is instructed in the art of war. No military class is created by this process, for no standing army is required, and the professional officers are comparatively few. Switzerland can mobilize about 200,000 men for actual combat, with about 60,000 more in the Landsturm. The same percentage to population would raise an active army of 6,000,000 in the United States.

Swiss neutrality is based on the traditions of six hundred years of independence and a century of freedom from entangling alliances, but the people do not for an instant leave it all to the good will of their neighbors. A citizen army to which every man belongs stands ready to discourage war by visible and adequate preparation.



Photograph by International News Service

SWISS BOYS RECEIVING PREPARATORY MILITARY INSTRUCTION

# WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN NEW YORK

BY WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS

(Former Superintendent of Insurance of New York)

THE New York Legislature of 1915 has adjourned, and,—strange to say,—the New York Workmen's Compensation Law still survives! Indeed, now that the chlorine cloud of asphyxiating misrepresentation has passed, we can, with recovered breath, survey the law and calmly report the losses. The writer is one who finds no damage at all, but, rather, a marked advance. The legislature might well have done more. But neither it nor the executive whose action led to the three amendatory laws should be,—as they have been,—condemned for what they did.

## THE NEW INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

Now, what, really, has been done by the three bills which created such a furore?

Just this. By one of them, the Labor and Compensation Departments were consolidated, at a great reduction in their combined cost and with the elimination of many overlapping functions. The new department is headed by a commission of five, and contains within itself a supervisory and consulting Industrial Council of unsalaried members, which must be equally representative of the employer and the employee classes. Thus, New York's new Industrial Commission is the most up-to-date and hopeful of our governmental agencies charged with the welfare of labor.

And, yet, this best of plans was for a time hooted down by the representatives and friends of labor. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon the legislature to prevent its passage. Threats of reprisals on election day were boldly and exultingly made; a fund of \$100,000 to accomplish this purpose was significantly proclaimed. The Association for Labor Legislation, with its splendid record of consistent effort for the betterment of labor statutes, was dubbed "The Association for Labor Assassination,"—because, forsooth, it had drafted and advanced the bill. The executive was vociferously,—almost with threats,—urged to veto. But to no avail. The bill became a law.

And, now that it is in force, Governor Whitman has met his critics by the appointment of a Commission of recognized merit and without partisan obligation. On this Commission are, as representing employees, labor leaders of national repute, John Mitchell (who was a member of the old Workmen's Compensation Commission) and James M. Lynch (until recently Commissioner of Labor); as representing employers, William H. H. Rogers and Louis Wiard, two prominent manufacturers of Western New York; with Edward P. Lyon, of Brooklyn, a lawyer, to hold the scales, if necessary, between the two classes. Mr. Mitchell is chairman and has been given the longest term.

Thus, the new Commission, with its far-reaching powers of inspection, for accident and disease prevention, in the compelling of industrial and safety reports, toward the mediation and arbitration of labor disputes, and, perhaps, most important of all, over the administration of New York's advanced workmen's compensation law, began its work on June first. Despite the travail of its birth, it is already a vigorous and hopeful agency of government in a field where heretofore there has been too much partisanship, too intricate machinery and too great a development on but one side of the correlated problem of the employer and the employed.

The consolidation act was not, however, strictly, an amendment to the workmen's compensation law. It simply reorganized and revolutionized the administering body named in that law.

## AMENDMENTS OF THE COMPENSATION LAW

The other two bills amended the workmen's compensation law itself. By them that law was so changed that, instead of bureaucratic settlements and bureaucratic payments of compensation, hereafter all payments will be direct from employer to employee and all settlements can be tentatively agreed to between the parties—such agree-

ment, however, not to become valid unless it shall provide for the amounts of compensation specified in the law or until it is approved by the Industrial Commission. In no other vital respect is the compensation law changed—unless it be in the new provision making it possible for the employer safely to pay the employee first-aid money, prior to the settlement and award by the Commission,—but no one will find fault with this.

Otherwise, New York's compensation law still stands in its efficient and rigid entirety; it has the same high schedule of disability payments,—higher than those of any other State; "weekly wages" is still defined very favorably to the employee; the four presumptions which, in effect, place the burden of all usually controverted matters upon the employer, still remain; the decisions of the Commission as to matters of fact are still final; the State Fund is still subsidized by the State and continued as a virile competitor of the private insurers; the Commission is still vested with the broadest powers for stringent supervision. This is a plain statement of the facts. While the controversy concerning these bills was on, there were not many such.

#### THE CHANGES MISREPRESENTED

And, yet, these changes,—clearly in the interest of economy and efficiency of administration and the restoration of the old-time relation of employer and employee as well as easily understood by anyone who took the pains to read the bills,—were, during their progress through the legislature, persistently,—through ignorance, it is hoped,—misrepresented by news and editorial writers in both the daily and periodical press. It was said that such changes emasculated the New York workmen's compensation law; that they permitted,—nay, even required,—the employer and employee to make "private settlements,"—*i. e.*, settlements without proper governmental supervision; indeed, that, once the amendments were in operation, the "ambulance chasers" of the old employers' liability days would again come into their own, while both the employer and his usual insurer,—the casualty company,—were held up to public scorn, with the unsupported statement that both would profit by these changes. And, as if these were not enough, it was rashly asserted that sinister influences had been brought to bear upon the legislature, either by the employers or by the casualty companies, to the end that

this legislation have favorable consideration.

Now, what are the facts?

"The law emasculated." What has already been said indicates that this is not true.

"Private settlements." The bill did not provide for "private settlements," because under it no settlement was valid unless, as to amount and duration of payment, it was in accordance with the law and approved by the Commission. Similarly, the phrase "direct settlements" was misdescriptive. The correct phrase is "voluntary settlements,"—*i. e.*, settlements which can be made between the parties if they so choose, but which must conform to the law and have official approval before becoming enforceable.

"Ambulance chasers." This charge was brazen nonsense. What possible part can the ambulance chaser play in negotiations between employer and employee, where the terms of the agreement must be in accord with a hard-and-fast statute, and where the agreement, when made, must be approved by a governmental commission?

"Profit to employers and to casualty companies." So far as employers are concerned, the only profit to them under the new system of settlements would be through agreements for less compensation than, in given accidents, they now pay. This is impossible under the strict wording and severe penalties of New York's law. The same is true of the casualty companies. Their only gain would come from reducing their outgo through losses. This also is impossible under a law providing fixed benefits and requiring official approval of all settlements.

"Sinister influences." A sufficient answer to the charge of sinister influences is that the legislator who assumed responsibility for it later withdrew his statements. The charge thus rested upon a mere statement that was withdrawn; there was no proof offered by anyone. Nor, the writer believes, was there any to offer.

#### VALUE OF THE AMENDMENTS

So much for the misrepresentations which have been made regarding these amendatory bills.

Now, why were these bills advanced? The legislators who proposed them gave three reasons: First, that the bureaucratic system of settlements had resulted in exasperating delays in payments of compensation,—delays amounting almost to a public scandal; second, that the bureaucratic method had greatly increased the cost of administer-

ing the law; and, third, that such method unjustly set up an additional barrier between employer and employee in their relations with each other. These reasons were successfully traversed by no one,—indeed, they were in effect admitted. And the fight was made on appeals to class prejudice and assertions concerning the probable effect of the changes which lacked both candor and truth.

#### THEORY OF COMPENSATION LAWS

But these reasons advanced by the legislative proponents of the bill were by no means all. Others, and perhaps more potent,—at least to students of the subject,—were the following:

*Correct theory.* There are in the United States, broadly speaking, two kinds of compensation laws: One is based on the theory that compensation is a tax laid on industry and, therefore, to be collected and paid out by the State. The other starts with the premise that compensation is a hazard of industry against which the employer may,—in many States, must,—insure, and that the duty of the State ceases when it has established a proper supervision of insurance to guarantee payments and of settlements to prevent imposition. Expressive of the first theory are the monopolistic State fund laws of Ohio, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, West Virginia, and Wyoming. In each of these the State collects the premium (tax) and pays the loss (compensation). In each of the other twenty-five compensation States insurance of compensation is either permitted or compelled, and competition between from two to four methods of insurance allowed. The striking fact, however, is that, while New York belongs in theory in the latter group, it originally adopted the settlement and payment practise of the tax-theory group. Either it should have excluded commercial insurance,—as did Ohio and the five other "tax" States,—or else it should have recognized and properly supervised the familiar practise of commercial insurance. The amendment of 1915 thus accomplishes harmony in theory. In brief, it strikes from the New York law provisions which never should have been inserted in the commercial insurance compensation law adopted by New York in 1913.

But, it was argued, does not this settlement method come from the Dutch law, where commercial insurance is permitted? Yes; but, under the Dutch law, the government has made itself responsible,—by be-

coming in effect the guarantor of every insurer,—for every compensation payment, and the government, therefore, properly, itself collects and pays the compensation, no matter from whom due. The opposite is true in New York. The State expressly disclaims liability, and limits its function to supervision of the employers and insurers upon whom rest that liability and the management of an official mutual fund for the employers who prefer that method of insuring their compensation payments.

#### OTHER STATE LAWS

Inclusive of the seven acts already passed in 1915, we now have compensation laws in thirty-one of the forty-eight States. Six have been mentioned. That of Kentucky has been declared unconstitutional and is not in operation. In twenty-one of the remaining twenty-four,—*i. e.*, including New York as a non-settlement State,—provision was made for direct, *i. e.*, voluntary settlements; and, it may be added, either by implication or by positive provision, for direct payments. These States, together with the years in which their laws were enacted and the sections of such laws through which voluntary settlements are recognized, are the following:

Arizona (1912) §1173 of Rev. Stats.  
 California (1913) §32.  
 Colorado (1915) §70.  
 Connecticut (1913) §22.  
 Illinois (1912) §22.  
 Indiana (1915) §57.  
 Iowa (1913) §26.  
 Kansas (1912) §23.  
 Louisiana (1914) §§17, 19 and 31.  
 Maine (1915) §30.  
 Massachusetts (1911) §4, Part 3.  
 Michigan (1912) §5, Part III.  
 Minnesota (1913) §22.  
 Nebraska (1913) §§36 and 37.  
 New Hampshire (1911) §9.  
 New Jersey (1911) §18.  
 Oklahoma (1915) §10.  
 Rhode Island (1912) §§1 and 2.  
 Texas (1913) §5 of Part II.  
 Vermont (1915) §31.  
 Wisconsin (1913) §2394-15.

Maryland and Montana,—the only other States besides New York to prohibit, in effect, voluntary settlements,—merely copied New York's error.

Thus, New York, in 1915, has made its law not only harmonious in theory with the system which it adopted in 1913, but, in so doing, has brought its law into harmony in this particular with the laws of twenty-one sister States. More, it has

adopted,—though not in identical words,—the recommendation, dated last October, of the Commissioners on Uniform Laws representing all the States. Section twenty-nine of their "Uniform Workmen's Compensation Act" reads as follows:

Section 29. If the employer and the injured employee reach an agreement in regard to compensation under this act, a memorandum of the agreement shall be filed with the Board and, if approved by it, thereupon the memorandum shall for all purposes be enforceable under the provisions of section 38, unless modified as provided in section 36.

Such agreements shall be approved by the Board only when the terms conform to the provisions of this act.

*Expert and Official Opinion.* Though the literature on Workmen's Compensation in the United States is yet rather limited, and the discussions of this particular phase are rare, such matter as is available all points one way, namely, toward voluntary settlements, subject to governmental approval.

Witness the following:

Provision should be made for the settlement of compensation claims either by agreement, subject to the approval of the Accident Board, or, if no such agreement be reached, by arbitration . . .

(From the pamphlet on "Standards for Workmen's Compensation Laws," issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation, in September, 1914.)

In the States where there are industrial accident boards having power to pass upon settlement agreements, to make rules and regulations, to require the filing of receipts showing actual payments of compensation to the men, and having arbitrations and hearings before them in cases of dispute, there was found no danger from fraud or deception on the part either of the employer or the workman. In those States the law is being fairly administered and employees are receiving promptly their full compensation under the law.

(From the Report of the National Civic Federation's Committee on the Operation of Compensation Laws, issued in January, 1914.)

The only federal commission which has considered this subject,—the so-called Sutherland Commission, which reported to Congress in 1912,—both endorsed voluntary settlements and, in terse fashion, gave the reasons therefor, as follows:

The entire administration of the law by the government would be either vastly expensive or vastly ineffective, because, if charged with the responsibility of seeing that payments were made in all proper cases and withheld in all improper cases, it would be necessary to carefully examine all claims, which would result in enormous expense; or to settle claims without such examination, which would result in large sums of money

being paid out improvidently. This examination can best be made by each railroad company itself, and better results will follow by leaving the adjustment of the claims, in the first instance, to the employer and the employee, making provision, as this proposed law does, for safeguarding the interests of the injured employee by providing an official umpire at government expense, thus reducing the administrative functions of the government to the minimum.

#### EXPERIENCE

In spite of all this, the case for voluntary settlements would fall if it could be shown that, to any considerable extent, wrong has resulted, or is likely to result, from preliminary agreements, subject to official approval. The converse is the fact,—as witness the above excerpts. There may be isolated cases of injustice, even in States where official approval is necessary; but, as the California Commission says, in its 1915 Report,—California, the State of Governor Johnson and of one of the most advanced compensation laws,—“these constitute the exception and not the rule.” Indeed, all the reports published by the various States which permit voluntary settlements are silent as to any wrong really requiring remedy,—nay, they go the other way. The only review of conditions to the contrary is the recent survey of settlement practises in New Jersey. Such practises are bad, and were properly criticized; but they are due, not to voluntary settlements, per se, but to voluntary settlements substantially without supervision and without approval by a regulating commission. It will be time to abandon the natural method of reaching agreements as to compensation payments when mere fears become realities,—not before.

This, in the briefest possible compass, is the story of the recent noisy but ineffectual campaign against proper and needed advances in the movement for a sane labor and workmen's compensation system in New York. It has been written in justice to the many students of and sympathizers with the problems of labor, nay, also the many,—both in official life and in the business world, whether as employers or as managers of insurance companies,—who in New York stood by their guns and fought in these recent days. Many other estimable men,—not to say numerous agencies of publicity,—were misled by the noise and force and persuasion of the political and labor leaders who condemned these bills. Time and experience will, of course, demonstrate which side was right, but the weight of the evidence, it is confidently asserted, is,—and, as the years go

on, will increasingly be,—with the proponents,—not the opponents,—of the so-called Spring and the Sage-Macdonald bills. just an unreasoning composite of fear, passion, suspicion, ignorance, false-witnessing, and politics,—a very plague which, spite the For, the truth lies not far from this, that: poison and pain of its visitation, has now The virulent campaign here pictured was fortunately been survived.

## MOTHERS ON THE PAY-ROLL IN MANY STATES

BY SHERMAN MONTROSE CRAIGER

**I**NDEPENDENCE DAY in perhaps five thousand fatherless homes this year will have had a new significance for thrice as many orphaned boys and girls, who, with their mothers, can in some cases point to a grandparent that helped in Revolutionary times to overthrow a foreign king, and set the United States free. Pleasant as this more or less hazy historical picture may be for a few of them, it can scarcely be compared with the feelings of thankfulness of all for new eras of economic freedom opened up to them in New York and other States in the South and West.

These prospective blessings arise out of the new order of social welfare legislation commonly known, for want of a better name, as mothers' pensions. In simple terms, the latter are grants of money in lump sums out of the taxpayers' treasury, for distribution in monthly allowances through local governmental officials to families where the father has died prematurely at his task in the iron foundry, the carpenter shop, woollen mill, or wherever he toiled for wife and children, leaving them dependent upon her scanty earnings or the irregular and often haphazard aid of charity.

### HOME VERSUS ASYLUM IN NEW YORK STATE

The great Empire State, a trifle tardily though none the less welcome, turned good angel on July first, and with open-handed generosity will search out and visit the needy homes from the Hudson River to the St. Lawrence, ministering to their wants. That plenty of work will be discovered goes without saying, for in the metropolis alone about 1500 widowed mothers and perhaps three times as many children await the ministrations of this new kind of justice. Upwards of thirty dollars a month, on the average, it is estimated, will find its way into these bare little homes, driving away worry and want,

and wiping out as if by magic the lines of care and the pinch of hunger from the faces of uncomplaining youngsters. There will be a little money for the rent, and something to pay for "real meat" at the butchers, "and lots of bread and potatoes," was the way one eager-eyed little mother put it, as she told the legislative committee last winter of her widowhood struggles.

No larger sum may be given to any mother, under the law, than would suffice to maintain her minor children in an asylum, where the State pays \$10 a month for the board of an orphaned boy or girl. More than 21,480 children on the average have been supported in the institutions of New York City, at a total outlay of \$2,827,658 a year. Even now a majority of these children must continue to be wards of the municipality for the reason that only about 10 per cent. of them have mothers living. This percentage of little ones had to be committed because of grim poverty, but from now on they may live happily at home. About \$500,000 will be disbursed annually in equal monthly allowances through local child-welfare boards to their mothers. This will not apply, however, in cases where the family has resided less than two years in the county, or if the husband was not a citizen at the time of his death.

In the less densely populated districts, the problem is not quite so acute, although it is estimated that there are about 10,500 dependent children in the remaining fifty-six counties of the State, for the care of whom \$2,175,000 more is spent yearly. Here again it is found that a large percentage has lost both parents, but at least 1000 of these boys and girls will leave the cheerless asylums for home and mother. They are not going to grow up as did their grandfathers, in some instances, with life all work and no play.

A case in point, that of Simon P. Quick,

of Broome County, was not without its effect on the legislators at Albany last winter, when they were considering the pension bill.

"I hope it will become a law," this white-haired old man said, "so that the children of to-day will not have to struggle as we did. I became the head of our family at the age of nine, when my father died. Mother and I went out to work, and she tried hard to keep the home together. There were some dark days, and it looked like my brothers and sisters might have to go to the orphanage, but mother won out. I know that we are all better men and women as a result of her care and love."

Other States, also, have fallen in line this year, so that along with New York there march Wyoming, Tennessee, and Arizona. In this way at least 2000 more families will start life afresh, by means of similar allowances. All told, laws for the pensioning of widowed mothers have been adopted by twenty-six States, and in ten others the question is pending.

#### CHILD POVERTY IN KANSAS CITY

When it is recalled that the movement is scarcely five years old, its sweep over the country is astonishing. In 1910 Judge E. E. Porterfield, of Kansas City, began to take notice of the frequency with which boys and even girls were brought into the juvenile court charged with petty crimes against property. His faith in childhood was too profound to lead him to adopt any hasty conclusions as to the whys and wherefores, so he undertook a quiet investigation. The result pointed directly to a cause hitherto unsuspected,—poverty, grim and sordid, and homes that were forbidding.

It did not take the Judge long to decide that he was aiding but little in the solution of juvenile court cases of delinquency when he punished a boy for filching bottles of milk and bundles of bread from a householder's doorstep, or corrected a girl for taking a bit of gay-colored ribbon from the store. The conditions cried out for a remedy for child poverty.

On his own initiative, he went before the Missouri Legislature and pleaded for help from the State. He demonstrated that in most cases the little culprits haled into the juvenile courts were fatherless, and that their widowed or deserted mothers, lacking skill or training as breadwinners while endeavoring to give their children the protection of a home, broke down in failure. Moreover, private philanthropic relief

through existing agencies was spasmodic and inadequate. It was clearly brought home to the legislators that only by State aid could young children be assured the personal care of a good mother in her own dwelling.

In June, 1911, Missouri adopted the first law for pensioning widowed mothers, but its application was limited to Jackson County alone, by a population limitation, with Kansas City as chief beneficiary. As a result of a study made by a municipal commission, St. Louis adopted an ordinance in July, 1912, by which a dependent child, if not in need of hospital treatment, could be boarded in his own home, the city paying \$3.50 a week for such cases, with an additional allowance of \$25 a year for clothing and medical treatment.

#### ALLOTMENTS TO WIDOWED MOTHERS

A good deal of credit is due to the common-sense methods with which James Gillham, the probation officer of the Juvenile Court of Jackson County, has administered the law, under the general direction of Judge Porterfield, and made its workings practicable. In the first place he simplified the proceedings so that there is very little red tape after the applicant fills out the blank, on which appears a brief history of the family and its resources.

"Do you own any real or personal property, or pay rent?" is the first thing asked. Then the amount of rent unpaid as well as other debts must be shown. There are the conventional questions about the nationality of the wife and husband, and if he carried life insurance. All the facts about the children must be given, including the salary earned by those at work.

#### REQUIREMENTS TO BE MET

Nothing is taken for granted, and if the applicant has a dollar left in the bank it must be told. The court wants to know, too, if any aid has been given by a charity or church, and whether the mother is trying to eke out a living by working away from home, and the wages received. The applicant must be sure and tell if she would be obliged to continue laboring regularly away from home, in case the court refuses a pension. On the other hand she must decide in event the allowance is made if she will agree to stay at home with the children and properly rear them. And there must be a very plain showing of just what work the mother can procure and do at home, and the amount that can be earned from it. Finally, she

must ascertain the least amount that might be allowed by the court which would suffice for the children's needs.

Everything is very business-like, and open and above board. "The taxpayers' money cannot be wasted; efficiency and justice prevails, and if you are entitled to a pension you will receive it," is the impression the mother gets at the outset.

The probation officer checks up her references, reputation for honesty, and ability to care for her home and children. He is particular to find out if she goes to church, and whether she is likely to give the children a good education. "Is she, in your opinion, a good moral and religious woman?" is something that must be answered yes or no.

Even if her friends give her a good character, it must be backed up by concrete evidence which a court investigator personally obtains. He is careful to find out the housing conditions, how the neighbors behave, and whether there are saloons, etc., nearby. In that case the removal of the family may be recommended, contingent on the pension being granted. A very careful scrutiny is made of the children, their physical condition, also school and church attendance.

#### HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

Widowed mothers who qualify in this way do not have to wait long before there is action, and in March of the present year \$1000 a month,—the full amount set aside by the County Court of Jackson County,—was allowed to needy families. While this is not quite as large a sum as some other cities are spending for pensions, Kansas City has reason to be proud of its record.

The average amount paid to each family last year was \$14.85 monthly, or at the rate of \$4.11 per child. The largest allowance was \$25, but here there were more than the usual number of children, which is about three to the family.

To those who fear a rush of applicants for pensions it may be worth while pointing out that up to the close of 1914, Judge Porterfield heard a total of 194 requests for aid, of which 78 were not deemed proper. Of the remainder, 94 were allowed, and 22 await additional appropriations by the county. Sixty-seven widowed mothers with 188 children under the age of fourteen were benefited, also 54 older children,—a total of 309.

A few allowances were discontinued. Eight widows remarried, while in the cases of five others the incomes of the mothers

grew to self-sufficiency. A happy augury of conscientious motherhood is suggested by the fact that in two cases only were the children improperly cared for. Conclusive evidence that the mothers would not impose on the community is to be had in the example of six widows who requested that their pensions be stopped because they were in a position to care for their children by obtaining work.

#### DOING AWAY WITH TRUANCY IN ILLINOIS

The benefits were so marked in Missouri that Judge Henry Neil prevailed on the Illinois Legislature to enact a similar statute, and Cook County set out to pension mothers. Naturally, a very much larger number of widows qualified, and in the thirty months from July 1, 1911, to December 31, 1913, over 3000 applications came before the court. After weeding out more than 2200 of them, 780 families were granted allowances. A few of these were of good, old-fashioned proportions, a couple of mothers reporting ten children each, average allowance \$3.25 apiece. Another family had nine boys and girls; four others eight; eleven had seven, and thirty-two mothers counted six mouths to feed. The smaller the family, the higher the allowance for each child,—fifty-eight families of two children each receiving \$8.58 per capita. Altogether 2654 children enjoyed the bounty of the State.

In January, 1915, when the law had reached the climax of a three-year trial, more than \$312,000 had been paid out in this way in Chicago, and about \$300,000 additional elsewhere in Illinois, according to Agent Joseph Meyer, of Cook County.

Joel D. Hunter, the Chief Probation Officer there, said that only eight children of the thousands reached through pensions had turned delinquent. "Truancy is almost eliminated," he added. "The mothers have done their part, as we insisted that they should not go out to work more than parts of three days a week, and they are staying at home and caring for their children. Doesn't that prove the law is a benefaction?"

#### PLUCKY NEW JERSEY MOTHERS

The success of the movement in the West has not been without its effect on the more conservative commonwealths along the Atlantic seaboard, and New Jersey vies with Massachusetts in looking after its dependent widowed mothers. While the law in the former State went into effect on Independence Day, 1913, a month or more elapsed before Somerset County was ready. On the

15th of August there walked into the court-house at Somerville the first applicant for a public hearing.

She evidently was unused to such surroundings, and sat down, a little breathless and frightened, beside her white-haired father and boy of eight or nine years. She wore a well-fitting skirt and white shirt-waist, with a becoming hat. All her answers to the judge's questions were made quietly and in a straightforward manner.

"I have lived in Somerset County for nine years," she said, "and have three children,—eight, thirteen, and fifteen years old, respectively. I earn \$6 a week by sewing. Our house rent is \$14.50 a month, and the church has helped me out with \$8 a month. By careful saving I have put a little money in the bank for a rainy day, and the children have saved \$25 and started their own savings accounts."

It did not take the court long to decide that this brave but frail little American should be helped, and \$18 a month was granted her out of the pension fund, the church aid, of course, to stop.

Over in Mercer County, Judge Gnichtel heard the application of Mrs. Verona Foss, at the court house in Trenton, about the same time. Mrs. Foss was a study, with her snub nose and wealth of hair, and determined mouth and chin. Her frank blue eyes sparkled as she told of her struggles for a couple of years to keep the home together and support five little ones. She opposed the plan advanced by the associated charity to have some of the children sent to an asylum.

"No, Judge; no child o' mine goes to any institution while I've skin left on my bones to work for 'em," she declared. "I earn \$4 a week, sir, sometimes as much as \$7, according to the times in the mills. They're splendid people," she went on, referring to her employers.

"I know my place looks untidy some days, but, Judge, what can you expect?" Mrs. Foss referred to a criticism made of her four-roomed home. "You see, I work in the mills six days a week, and goodness knows I'm ready for bed at night. Elsie,—she's twelve, —and Florence, eleven years old, keep house and try to have the little ones, Hilda, Walter, and Leon, neat and clean. The two eldest go to school every other day, and while one's away the other's housekeeper. But, Judge, the children are washed and dressed clean and sent to Sunday-school regularly."

Judge Gnichtel, in allowing \$30 a month

to Mrs. Foss, said that he had not awarded charity to the family! nothing of the sort. "The State owes them a debt," he added, "and it is my privilege to see that this is paid according to the law. And I am no Socialist, either!"

Some districts of New Jersey apparently have very few dependent widows. Only four applied in Ocean County the past year; Essex pensioned 427,—not an excessive number when it is recalled that its chief city (Newark) has over a third of a million people. The total for the State to the end of last October was 1910 mothers and children, and the cost was \$86,822.18.

#### FROM NEW ENGLAND TO THE PACIFIC COAST

A very much larger sum was expended by Massachusetts in the past year, the State appropriating \$175,000 for aid to mothers, and the various cities and counties about \$300,000 additional. Nearly 12,000 widows and children have been benefited. The age limit of the child is fourteen, and the average weekly payment \$6. It is interesting to note that supplies used up nearly 18 per cent. of the funds, while about 6 per cent. of the latter were paid out in cash to the mothers.

New Hampshire is another New England State to fall into line, and grants \$10 a month in cases where the widow has one child under sixteen years, and \$5 for each of the other minors.

A little more is allowed under the Ohio law, which provides \$15 a month for one child under the legal employment age, and \$7 a month for the others. Cincinnati led off with an appropriation of \$63,000.

Slightly less is authorized by the Iowa law, \$8 a month being the largest grant, in cases where the child is under fourteen. Michigan and Minnesota do a little better, the maximum allowance in the former ranging from \$12 to \$24 a month. Pennsylvania spends \$200,000 a year.

The Oklahoma act provides for a "school scholarship," payable in amounts corresponding to the earnings of children when the mother is dependent on them. There is a higher age limit in Nevada, and a boy or girl under eighteen may have \$10 a month when living with a dependent mother. In Oregon \$10 a month is allowed for dependent children under sixteen. There is a similar provision in Utah. South Dakota pays the same as Ohio; Idaho a little less. There are good laws in Wisconsin, Colorado, California, and Washington.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## TOPICS IN THE ENGLISH REVIEWS

THE tables of contents of the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Nineteenth Century*, the *National*, and the *English*, as well as the still heavier quarterlies, all bear witness to the generally accepted belief that the relatively small section of the British public which reads these publications is more interested in war topics than in anything else. We are quoting elsewhere from the *Contemporary's* article on the liquor problem, and from the article on recruiting in the May *Fortnightly*.

The editor of the *National Review*, Mr. L. J. Maxse, who represents the extreme Imperialistic wing of British public opinion, revenges himself on those opponents, who, for years, have decried his alarmist utterances as the ravings of a crank, by reprinting extracts from the *National Review* on the subject of the German peril covering the fifteen years, 1899-1914. Many of the articles here quoted, some of them dating back for more than a decade, give weird foreshadowings of what has taken place in Europe since August 1. There are 354 pages of these gleanings, which are published under the title of "Germany on the Brain."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for June there is a defense of Italy's action in going to war based on Signor Salandra's speech of May 20, and the testimony of the Green Book. An article in the same review by Mr. Robert Machray takes the ground that Russia's chief motive in the invasion of East Prussia was to prevent Germany from sending aid to Austria. This aim, he contends, was largely fulfilled. There are two articles in this number on German atrocities and a comparison by Mr. Steel-Maitland of the economic effects of the war on England and Germany.

A writer in the *Contemporary* for June likens certain opposition journalists in England at the present moment to the American "Copperheads" in the Civil War. The same writer leads us to suppose that the British reading public is becoming somewhat tired of the irresponsible war talk indulged in by nov-

elists and other literary men. "Let our novelists write novels and entertaining novels," he says, "which shall refresh the thoughts of the anxious or the weary and divert the sick in hospitals. That is their job and we should keep them to it." In his article on "Italy and the Second Phase of the War," Dr. E. J. Dillon gives a detailed account of the negotiations between Signor Giolitti and Prince Bülow. Dr. Dillon maintains that Italy's strategic weakness on her land and sea frontiers is likely to be more than counterbalanced by her contribution to the military and naval forces of the Allies. Col. F. N. Maude defends the policy of attempting to force the Dardanelles without the coöperation of land troops.

In the *Fortnightly* for June Mr. Archibald Hurd characterizes the formation of the new British armies as "the miracle of the war." He censures the military administration, however, for permitting the haphazard enlistment of workers who are needed to produce munitions and armaments.

*Blackwood's* gives a graphic account of an episode in the retreat from Mons, describing the remarkable march of a detachment of British troops across the German lines of communication.

The *English Review* for June has a ten-page "Ballad of the War," by Lord Latymer. It also contains the second installment of extracts from a journal by May Sinclair; "At Neuve Chapelle," by "A Sub.," "How I Discovered the Date of the World War," by Major Stuart-Stephens; "Weapons and Tactics," by Lisle March Phillipps; "Labor and the War," by H. M. Tomlinson; "America at the Cross-Roads," by Sydney Brooks; "National Service and Government," by Austin Harrison.

In the *Englishwoman* for June there is a suggestive article on "The Employment of Women in Forestry." The writer points out that much of the labor in forest nurseries now performed by men and boys could be equally well done by women and girls with at least as good results.

## THE DRINK PROBLEM IN ENGLAND

WRITING on "The Drink Trade and State Purchase," in the *Contemporary Review* for June, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas P. Whittaker, Member of Parliament and for many years a worker in the temperance movement, discusses the dangerous question and the proposed solution of it candidly and with grasp and insight. First of all, Sir Thomas finds that the lesson to be learned from the present "pitiable and humiliating spectacle" is "that the problem of dealing with the great evil which is our national discredit, would be enormously simplified if we were to eliminate from it the widespread influence,—political and social, national and local,—which personal financial interest in the trade creates and exercises against every effort to secure substantial reform." Pointing out that prohibition, "the simplest and most effective remedy where it can be enacted and enforced," is not now feasible in England because Parliament has not given the people the power locally to veto the sale of drink, he says:

Clearly it would be an enormous gain if the direct personal financial interest of the liquor trader were eliminated, and all pushing of the sale of drink and all inducements to the seller to evade the law were abolished. That can only be done by taking the trade out of the hands of those who now conduct it and placing it under the control of persons whose only object would be to promote the public well-being, and who would have no interest in pushing the sale or conniving at breaches of the law: that is to say, by placing it under disinterested management.

Taking up the practical aspects of the Lloyd George proposal, which as yet has failed of approval, the writer continues:

Of course, everything would turn upon the terms on which the transaction could be carried through. It would be useless to put before Parliament and the country anything that appeared to be extortionate or unreasonable. . . . The committee to which the problem for England and Wales was referred was a very representative one, and it made a unanimous report, the outstanding points of which have been made known, and were:

1. That the average prices for the three years ending June 30th, 1914, should be taken as the value of those securities which were quoted on London or provincial stock exchanges; that where the securities were not quoted, or the undertakings were privately owned, the number of years' purchase of the average annual net profits at which the value should be fixed should be based upon the number of years' purchase of the annual net profits which the prices of quoted securities represent.

2. That the purchase price should be paid in 4 per cent. government stock at par, redeemable

at par at the option of the government any time after seven years.

When considering the financial aspects of such a transaction as this there are many important matters to be borne in mind. Not the least of them is the revenue now derived from license duties and the taxes on beer, spirits, wine, etc. A payment corresponding to what these would have amounted to, according to the quantity of drink sold, if the trade had remained in private hands, would, of course, have to be made to the revenue out of the receipts from sales.

The price to be paid for the whole of the liquor trade to be acquired in England and Wales on the basis suggested would probably have been something between £250,000,000 and £300,000,000. The average annual net profits made by the trade in those companies which have a stock exchange quotation for their securities are about 7 per cent. on the capital value represented by these quotations. It may therefore be assumed that the purchase of the whole of the trade, on the average, would have been on a 7 per cent. basis. As the payment would have been made in 4 per cent. government stock, there would have been a margin of 3 per cent. to work upon. This would have amounted to something like £7,500,000 to £9,000,000 a year, according to the capital value as ascertained. . . .

It will be said that Government management will never be so efficient and profitable as private enterprise. That is true; and if the object were to do as much business as possible the objection would be a sound one, but as that is not the case the objection loses much of its force, although it does represent a set-off which must not be overlooked.

Some of the advantages to be gained are summarized as follows:

1. The direct personal financial interest of individuals deriving an income from the trade would be enormously reduced and largely changed.

2. The local and national, political and social influence, which is now so great a barrier to effective legislation and to the efficient administration of the laws which have been enacted, would practically disappear.

3. The number of licensed premises would be enormously reduced.

4. Grocers' licenses would probably speedily disappear.

5. Shortening the hours of sale, closing on Sundays, earlier closing on Saturday nights, the abolition of back doors and side entrances, the stopping of credit and of hawking drink in casks and bottles, and many other reforms would be made practicable and easy.

6. Inducements to attempt unduly to influence and corrupt the police and pack our benches of magistrates would cease to exist.

7. There would be an end of such contentious questions as compensation and a time limit.

8. The way would not only be clear for giving the people in their respective localities a wide power of local option, including local veto, but the ability to use the power would be largely increased because the opposition to it would be much reduced and be far less active and vigorous.

## GERMAN OPINION ON THE CASE OF THE "LUSITANIA"

**A**N editorial in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 21 discusses the points of President Wilson's first note to Germany demanding the cessation of submarine warfare endangering the lives of passengers and crews of undefended merchant ships.

Referring to the fact that a number of days elapsed after the receipt of the note at Berlin before the German Government made a reply, this article accepts the delay as proof that the matter was carefully weighed before an official answer was given, and that the policy once announced by Germany would be maintained with firmness.

The article suggests that the American note, on the other hand, had perhaps not been prepared with equally careful deliberation. "It is visibly written under the influence of the excitement that was evoked in the United States through the death of the many American citizens that went down with the *Lusitania*, including some of the wealthiest men of America. This reflection of the popular resentment may work for the popularity of the note in America itself. If some of the expressions in it may seem very drastic to us in view of the intended diplomatic results, there is nevertheless in Germany an understanding of the condition of a government that must reckon with the sentiments of great, strongly incited, and little enlightened masses."

The article takes issue with the President's note chiefly on the point of the character of the *Lusitania* and her cargo. The main argument under this head is embodied in the following paragraphs:

The *Lusitania* was an English auxiliary cruiser, drew as such very large money subsidies from the English Government, was built under the supervision of the English Admiralty, and appeared quite regularly in the English Navy lists with a heavy armament. Now, whether or not the ship on its last voyage carried the armament that had been provided for it, is a matter of utter indifference in the pending dispute.

In the first place, the German Government cannot possibly know whether English warships just happen to have their cannon with them; in the second place, the *Lusitania*, upon completion of its voyage, would again have been equipped with arms in England and then used as a warship against Germany. A soldier who has lost his gun might just as well pose as a harmless noncombatant.

But, even taking it for granted that the United States should not admit this view of the case, which, to be sure, places a heavy neglect of duty



A GERMAN VIEW OF BRITISH MERCHANTMEN  
From *Kladderadatsch* © (Berlin)

upon them, the English Government, and the Cunard Line, there remains nevertheless the fact, officially communicated through the English Embassy at Bern, that the *Lusitania* carried in her hold munitions of war, and that, too, in enormous quantities. The rapid sinking of the ship was caused precisely by the explosion of these combustibles, since only a single German torpedo was fired.

If the reasoning of the note on the propriety and humanity of torpedoing merchant ships were to be followed, says this writer, "Germany would have to allow every English ship, filled to the rail with bombs for the mass destruction of our German soldiers, to sail into every English port, so long as any 'neutral' American finds it to his liking to travel to Europe upon it."

The editorial declares that in view of the warnings given by the German Embassy in Washington the United States Government should itself have prevented the departure of the *Lusitania*. "In order to save its own citizens, it should have held back the ship in any event, no matter how much it was otherwise of the opinion that the principles of the German methods of warfare on the sea were contrary to law."

In its concluding paragraph the editorial offers some hope for an understanding between the two powers. "In spite of all that

has been done to us from over there and is still being done, we do not desire a serious sharpening of this conflict. But the supreme consideration for us now remains the energetic and purposeful waging of the war, and all other considerations recede into the background behind this."

In connection with its comment on the first American note the *Hamburger Nachrichten* makes the following plea in defense of German submarine warfare:

The German submarine is only one fruit, the latest, of the science of shipbuilding and the use of explosives. When gunpowder was invented the entire system of warfare and of safety had to undergo change. At that time, in the beginning of this development, many persons remonstrated against the use of such changed means of warfare, and Ludovico Ariosto speaks in glowing verses his curse against the gun as an implement of warfare. The human spirit of invention did not suffer itself to be arrested, and humanity reconciled itself to the innovations and the changed conduct.

One result of the invention of gunpowder was the construction of steel ships with their mighty guns, and a still further development was the German submarines, with their wide radius of activity. Humanity must accustom itself to the one as well as to the other, even as, in fact, it has accustomed itself to the battle with explosives, even to airships and aeroplanes that throw bombs. Yes, finally even to the French stink-bombs. Only when the German troops brought still more effective asphyxiating gases to bear upon the French did the clamor of woe begin to resound. We cannot assume that the Government at Washington, in the friendship which it emphasizes in its note, wishes to appropriate to itself the pharisaical French indignation simply because it is a matter of German means of warfare.

The submarines are warships as well as any others, only they are new and bring with them new concomitant phenomena. Whereas cruisers that sail on the sea give warning by their mere appearance, other means of warning are furnished for the submarines. We have applied them.

The general tenor of German press comment on President Wilson's first note is indicated by the following paragraph from the *Vossische-Zeitung*:

If America succeeds in bringing it about that British merchant vessels shall no longer sail under false flags, that England shall cease arming merchant vessels, and that contraband cargoes shall no longer be protected by American passengers, then the United States will find Germany on her side in an endeavor to lead submarine war into more humane channels.

If America fails to influence Great Britain thus, the United States will have to put up with submarine war as at present waged. She must take care that her citizens enter as little into the naval war zone as they would into the firing line near Arras, Lille, or Przemyśl.

In the *Deutsche Tages Zeitung* Count Reventlow, writing on the possibilities of war between America and Germany, said:

Trade between Germany and America has shrunk to microscopic dimensions. What they receive from us is more valuable and necessary than what we receive from them. The complete cutting off of negotiations would leave us where we are. America would only be able to damage us by confiscating the ships left in her harbors and much other German property. Further dangerous deeds of war from America are not to be feared because they are not possible. Also we do not forget certain interior difficulties in America. That is another side of the business. On the other hand, any stopping of the submarine war, if only for the time, would have most important results. Any orders to submarine commanders to conform to any formal conditions laid down by international law would mean hindering their actions and making the submarine war an empty farce, a kind of screen behind which one would have obediently to withdraw with apologies.

The German undersea war is no improvisation or sudden caprice, but a well-considered measure on a great scale. On a great scale, therefore, must be the practical carrying out of the measure if it is to be an apparatus of great value. When the German Empire, in this great struggle for existence, decides to take such steps, then there is no drawing back.

After the receipt at Berlin of the second note from President Wilson there was a marked change in the tone of German newspaper comment on the issue between the two countries. Thus the general director of the *Lokal Anzeiger*, Eugen Zimmermann, said in his journal on June 13:

President Wilson desires nothing more and nothing less than an understanding between Germany and England concerning the forms of maritime warfare, which at the same time will insure the safety of American passengers. The task is not light, considering the development of naval war, but it can be solved if all interests display goodwill.

Herr Zimmermann proposed, as a new basis of naval operations, that passengers on ships with special marks of identification and sailing under the government guarantee that they are unarmed should receive proper consideration at the hands of submarine commanders. Such a compromise, however, would also involve the withdrawal of the British Admiralty's instruction to merchantmen to attack and ram submarines on sight.

The *Tageblatt*, edited by Theodor Wolff, advocates the creation of an advisory council to the German Foreign Office in which former Ministers and Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, and leading members of the Reichstag shall have seats. This, he thinks, would be a suitable method for

giving German diplomacy adequate authority and prestige at home, and would result in the avoidance of new conflicts.

Referring to President Wilson's demand that the Allies and non-combatants shall not be endangered by submarine warfare, the *Kreuzzeitung* says that the mild form of the President's note cannot conceal the gravity of the situation and that it reveals that President Wilson has not the slightest comprehension of the German standpoint nor the situation which has compelled Germany to act as she has done:

Americans who want to visit England can do so without appreciable danger on American ships that have pledged themselves to carry no contraband, a pledge that can easily be verified by German consular officials.

Under the present circumstances, however, as long as travelers use ships which carry contraband and possibly are armed and, in conformity with the orders of the British Admiralty, attempt to ram submarines, this demand of the note it is impossible to fulfil. If we are to give in to the demands of the note, Great Britain first would have to make serious changes in its previous practices and guarantee the changes satisfactorily. President Wilson must busy himself about this next. He must be able to comprehend that we are not going to let submarine warfare out of our hand as a weapon in order that American travelers may cross without danger to Europe on

British ships, perhaps with the intention of insuring the freightage of ammunition and other war materials for our enemies.

The *Frankfurter Nachrichten* proposes, as a method for modifying the hardships of submarine warfare, that the United States Government consent to the stationing of German commissioners in American ports to examine ships sailing for Europe, so that those which carry no armaments, munitions, or troops may be exempt from attack by German submarines.

As a precedent for such action the *Nachrichten* cites the fact that similar commissioners are maintained by the British Government in various neutral countries to examine and certify with regard to cargoes bound to neutral ports.

Writing in the *Vossische Zeitung*, George Bernhard says that not one of the essential differences between Germany and the United States has been removed by the exchange of notes:

America told us she would take the initiative in preventing England from a future misuse of naval warfare. This we greeted thankfully. If America's representations are unsuccessful, she may repeat them. Whether the German submarine warfare can be moderated depends solely on the attitude of England.

## TRUE GERMAN-AMERICANISM

IN repelling the charge of unfairness preferred by Professor Edouard Meyer, of Berlin, against Harvard University, Professor Kuno Francke, Curator of the Germanic Museum of Harvard, who is both a native German and an American citizen, has set forth, in a remarkable pamphlet, his opinion as to the problem of the German-American and especially of the German scholar working at an American university in the present world situation. This pamphlet was printed in German, but an English translation appears in the *New York Times* for June 6.

At the outset, Professor Francke makes this candid admission regarding the dominant sentiment of the American public at this time:

Surely we may not deny the fact that the public opinion of America in its overwhelming majority has been on the side of England and its allies from the beginning of the war till to-day. Whatever may be the reasons for this regrettable fact,—the English foundations of all public institutions in America, the common language, the far-reaching influence of the English press, the dominating world power of English trade,—we cannot change this fact in a moment; we must reconcile ourselves

to it. Perhaps there is gathering prospectively a gradual reaction toward the other direction. To cooperate in that is the task of every German-American. The question is simply: Which is the most effective and judicious way of actually bringing about this change?

In Professor Francke's opinion the most ineffective and injudicious way would be the one recommended by the "German-American National Alliance," which Professor Francke describes as "the attempt to transplant the national differences of the European war upon the internal politics of the United States."

This is his reason for considering the proposal of the German-American National Alliance a blunder:

If the American political system has one advantage over those of most European states, it is this, that it has till now kept free from separatist tendencies based on the championing of particular nationalities. There is in the United States no Polish, no Irish, no Czechish question; and every attempt to create such an issue based on nationalities would be repudiated by the overwhelming majority of the American people as a crime against the fundamental principles of the political life of the New World. A party that would put

itself in the service of such a separatist race-politics would be proscribed by all the other parties as un-American and a danger to the state, and would have no chance whatsoever of cooperating in any positive way in the great public problems.

Professor Francke states clearly and fully the grounds upon which he objects to this proposal. Looking at the matter from the German as well as the American viewpoint, he says:

It was necessary to declare publicly that an embargo on arms exports on the part of America would be a step directed indubitably against England, which carried with it the possibilities of a conflict with England. I do not consider it beyond the realm of possibility; indeed, I hope that if England continues to exploit its rule of the sea so ruthlessly and to disregard so constantly the rights of the United States as a neutral as in the last few months, such a radical change in the sentiment toward England will take place that the public opinion of America will demand an embargo on the export of arms. It will then demand it as a defensive measure to compel England to respect the American trade interest, and interests, as a neutral. But to demand it through the "German-American National Alliance" as an act of humanity and justice toward Germany,—that can merely evoke from American quarters the remark that German arms manufacturers in the last decades,—in the Russo-Japanese war, the Balkan confusion, and elsewhere,—have taken a leading and conspicuous part in supplying warring nations with ammunition and war material of every sort without this having been considered in Germany a violation of the dictates of humanity and justice. As is known, the German Government has made no such demand, but confines itself to pointing out the good right of the United States to protect its own trade interests against England through such an act.

Going a step farther, Professor Francke maintains that the Germans of America are, in the first place, Americans, and that "if they are set face to face with this bitter choice they are ready to let even their sympathies

for the gigantic struggle of the German people for its existence fall into the background before their duty to omit everything that might engulf their new Fatherland, without compelling necessity, in the European chaos."

Another motive that animated Professor Francke was this:

Not only by pointing out actually and free from exaggeration what Germany has contributed to human progress, but also and above all in quiet cooperation in the upbuilding of American life lies the winning strength of the German element in this country. For this cooperation includes all that which is the best in the German spirit.

Professor Francke looks forward to a time when Americans of all parties and every racial descent will unite in the wish for the establishment of a peace that will assure for Germany the maintenance of its soil and the guaranteeing of the freedom of the seas. When such a peace is achieved "it will, above all, be the task of science to tie anew the bonds between America and Germany."

An intellectual isolation can certainly not be to the interest of Germany. Even if Professor Meyer's view, that Frenchmen, Englishmen, Belgians, and Japanese are at the moment more welcome at Harvard than Germans were correct (as it is not), then Germany should strive all the more to have also German representatives of science participating in the work of giving a visible expression to the unity of modern civilization. Our task will be not only to heal physical wounds, and to restore devastated lands, but above all to build up again the empire of the spirit, which includes all races and all lands. And where could this rebuilding be undertaken more auspiciously than here in America? But we Germans may not keep aloof from this rebuilding; if for no other reason than for the sake of the children of German-American parents, who must not grow up with the thought that Germany is a self-exiled stranger among the races and has no community with the ideals of the rest of the world.

## PATRIOTISM VS. COSMOPOLITANISM

PROFESSOR AGATHON AALL, of the University of Christiania, discusses in the Norwegian review, *Samtiden*, the contrast and conflict between the two ideals which have their respective centers of gravity in national self-sufficiency and a sense of universal humanity. The basis of his article is the fact that, so far, whenever those two ideals have been placed in hostile opposition to each other, cosmopolitanism has been rudely brushed aside. In this connection he points out that whenever militant patriotism asserts itself as it does in time of war, the commandments of ordinary, individual morality are ruthlessly violated.

It is wrong to lie,—of course. But treachery and falsehood are laudable things when the interests of one's own country demand them. It is wrong to be selfish. But there is nothing except praise to be heard on behalf of the selfishness that serves one's country. It is a sin for one human being to kill another. But the morality of war commands: Thou shalt kill.

These facts lead the writer to wonder whether there may be something wrong at the very root of patriotism; whether, in a word, it might be necessary to seek its total abolishment. Analyzing it historically, he

shows how our present ideas run back to the days of Hellas and Rome, and he suggests that the trouble may not lie in patriotism as such, but in our failure to develop our patriotic ideas and ideals in keeping with the evolutionary changes noticeable in everything else.

The patriotism of Hellas was that of a small group of people, feeling themselves set apart from all the rest of the world. It was, on the whole, the narrow ideal of a narrow sphere of life. The patriotism of Rome began in the same fashion, its separatistic character being even more strongly marked. But with the growth of Roman empire followed the growth of Roman ideas and ideals, and it was Rome that gave to the world that Roman law, which was based on the conception of certain ideas of right and justice as common to all human beings.

Since that time, changed conditions have revolutionized the entire life of man. To a Greek it was plain that all civilization must have its roots within Hellas. But try to analyze the cultural core of a modern Scandinavian, for instance, and see what you get: a conglomeration of spiritual factors springing from all the four quarters of the compass. There are Protestant consciousness tied to the name of Luther; yearnings for political freedom connecting themselves historically with the great French Revolution; artistic ideals stamped by Michael Angelo or Beethoven; an alternately ascetic and esthetic life-view having its models in Goethe, Kant, Rousseau, Ibsen; a scientific and historical outlook on life founded by Darwin, Spencer, Helmholtz; a conception of the soul worked out by Wundt; and so on.

The old barriers between distinct groups of human beings are being broken down, while new ties and connections are incessantly being built. Among the factors entering most conspicuously into this work of unification, the writer mentions modern systems of communication, modern science, modern art, the international trades-union movement, and the gradual leveling of manners, customs, and conditions of life. And finally he points out that the idea of patriotism comprises two different elements: that of local selfishness, and that of sentimental attachment to the region with which our earliest impressions and experiences are connected. A process of evolution has already been started, he thinks, by which the former element is being gradually eliminated from our conception of patriotism, while the latter element remains and must always remain.

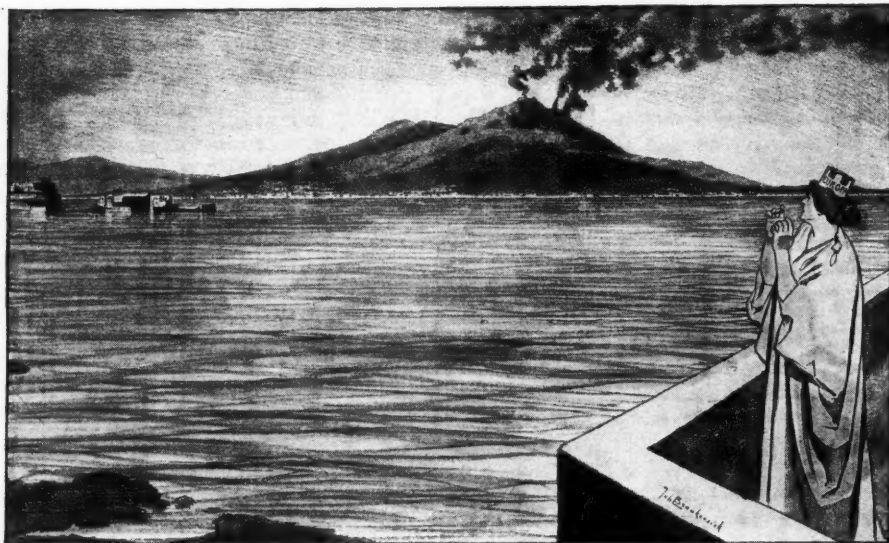
In proof of his belief that humanity will soon be ready for a new form of patriotism, one that implies no hostility to other human groups, he mentions a number of movements

and institutions to be found all over the world, some of them having come into being since the beginning of the present war: the Union of Democratic Control in England, which has for its object to insure a just settlement when the time for peace has come; the Union of the New Fatherland in Germany, which aims to oppose all thoughts of land-grabbing; the international peace organ, *The Truth*, started in Switzerland; the League of Neutral Countries, which has its headquarters at Lugano and aims at working for universal disarmament; the Women's Peace Conference recently held at the Hague, and the Anti-War Council formed in Holland.

Finally he turns to his own country with the question what it can do to promote and hasten this change of ideals, whereby a new, non-militant patriotism is to be established, —a patriotism that does not have to conflict with the growing sense of cosmopolitanism. He points to the Norwegian Nobel Foundation, appointed by the Storting for the purpose of awarding the Nobel peace prize, and he suggests that the time may have arrived when it would be better for the foundation to adopt a more constructive method of working.

Under the terms laid down by the founder, it is not necessary to distribute the prize every year. In fact, it may be permitted to accumulate for as much as five years at a stretch. The will of Alfred Nobel contains also the express provision that the work on behalf of universal peace may be carried out in any way the foundation may deem fit, and more particularly by means of scientific research and popular education. With this in mind, the writer proposes that a fund of sufficient size be raised by the withholding of the peace prize for several years,—the prize amounting to about \$40,000 a year,—and that the accruing fund be used along the lines suggested by the founder himself. For this purpose, it would be possible to add foreign members to the Nobel Institute, which has already been established at Christiania, and thus to build up a vast international organization, by which public opinion in every civilized country might be powerfully influenced.

"The test of a feeling is furnished by the deeds springing from it," says Professor Aall in conclusion. "Patriotism must face that test, too. Patriotism should prompt a people to seek an honorable solution of the problems particularly its own. And Norway has, once for all, turned its attention toward the problem of universal peace."



EUROPE BEHOLDS ANOTHER ITALIAN ERUPTION  
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

## ITALY'S TERRITORIAL DEMANDS

AN article by Signor A. Quintieri in the *Rivista d'Italia* (Rome), written on the eve of Italy's momentous decision to range herself on the side of the Triple Entente powers, gives evidence of an exceptionally clear perception of the difficulties to be encountered, even in case of a successful issue of the war.

The writer recognizes that the oppressive character of Austrian rule, in certain directions, has had at least one good effect in the regions inhabited by those of Italian blood, for this very oppression has kept alive their devotion to Italy, while under the generous French domination of the island of Corsica, ethnographically and geographically within the Italian sphere, and where the Italian language is still largely maintained, the inhabitants have become entirely French in sentiment. At the same time Signor Quintieri is not disposed to charge the Austrian Government with having done much economic injury to "Unredeemed Italy." Of this he says:

The Italian regions subject to Austria do not enjoy any greater degree of prosperity than they did long ago under Venetian rule, but bearing in mind the changes that have taken place all along the Adriatic, we cannot say that they are notably worse off. If the ethnic frontier has been gradually pushed back toward the sea, this change has not resulted from the political action of Austria, but is due to the more progressive character of

the Italian population, which has abandoned to the less enterprising Slavs the rudimentary agricultural development of the interior, and has moved down toward the coast so as to carry on commerce and thus enjoy a greater degree of prosperity, in the same way and for the same reasons that the Greeks of Macedonia have given up the interior of that country to the Bulgarians.

If the commercial activity that built up Italy has declined, as is but too true, this is not because it has been cut off by the Austrian ports in the Adriatic. It has decreased for the same reason that has made the port of Venice, two centuries ago supreme in this region, now scarcely able to resist the competition of Trieste, and Venetian commerce, that once monopolized the trade of the Levant, has now to depend upon the subsidies doled out by the Italian Government.

This commercial activity of Trieste, which competes so victoriously with our mercantile marine, has its roots in the Austrian hinterland. The trade which proceeds from the Hungarian plains finds an outlet in Trieste, directed largely by government control and by favorable customs and port regulations. This trade would not be transferred to us by the annexation of Trieste, for the activity of all the ports on the Dalmatian coast is directly dependent upon the economic policy of the state governing the sources of supply, and these sources would be provided with some other outlet provided for by political exigencies.

Turning to the territorial extension required by Italy, Signor Quintieri defines this within somewhat narrower limits than those likely to be established by the Italian Government should it eventually find itself in a position to dictate terms to Austria,—al-

ways subject, indeed, to a possible veto on the part of Russia. These minimum requirements are thus presented:

We confine ourselves to what is incontestably our right, putting aside a century-old tradition which renders especially dear to us certain parts of the Dalmatian territory; but we demand a reasonable compensation in view of the size of our population, and also on account of the great and important centers of commerce and industry on our side of the Adriatic, while the Dalmatian coast only offers a few scattered towns and half-deserted islands, and, moreover, because of the fact that we are exposed toward the East so long as our domain has not reached its proper geographical frontiers. It is not easy to find an adequate compensation for these disadvantages, but looking exclusively to the safety of the Adriatic, we can confine ourselves to asking for the Strait of Otranto and the adjacent territory requisite for

its defense on the other side of the sea. We ask this of Austria, just as we would of any other state which might succeed to it in its Adriatic possessions.

The Strait of Otranto for us, in a more limited sphere, is what the Strait of Gibraltar is for the English; it will be the bulwark of our eastern ports, the supporting base of our squadrons in case of war. Serbia has nothing to fear from us. From the time that Italy became a nation she has never interfered with the aspirations of her neighbors, and that right of nationality we have proclaimed for ourselves we have respected for others.

The assurances we shall give to the Slavs are more significant than those which, according to official journals, have been offered to us from Petrograd, because they are confirmed by the conduct we have observed whenever we have had an opportunity to support the demands or give our vote in favor of oppressed peoples.

## ITALY'S TROUBLES IN TRIPOLI

WRITING before Italy's declaration of war against Austria, the political editor of *Rassegna Nazionale* (Rome), while deprecating the intemperate zeal of many who advocated Italy's interference in the great conflict, takes occasion to formulate very emphatically the legitimate expectations of that country as to territorial expansion. Treating of this he says:

Now that the question of Italy's neutrality has reached a critical stage, we must hope that the government, before making its final decision will have taken every step to ensure the realization of our national aspirations to the fullest possible extent. Whether by peaceful or by war-like means, there can be no doubt that the destiny of our unredeemed territory on the Adriatic must be definitely determined.

We trust, however, that other problems also will be solved in accordance with our special interests. Thus we trust that there will be reserved for us, in the Mediterranean, in the Egean, and in Asia Minor, a share proportionate to the requirements of our position; we trust, moreover, that the significant campaign of a not unimportant section of the Russian press against our aspirations in the Adriatic and the Balkans, does not truly represent the ideas of the Russian Government. Above all, we trust that those upon whom rests the tremendous responsibility of guiding the destinies of our native land will know how to safeguard our country for the future, so as to prevent any eventual rearrangement of the map of Europe to our disadvantage, leaving us, tomorrow, isolated and unsupported in the midst of rival and distrustful nations.

The writer then turns to an especially unfortunate circumstance for Italy at the present critical period, namely, that her recent conquests in Tripoli are seriously menaced by a native uprising. The supreme

necessity of concentrating all her available resources at home to overcome or resist Austria, renders this a very great peril and raises the question whether in her effort to enlarge her territory at the expense of her powerful neighbor, Italy may not have risked the loss of territory already secured at great cost of blood and treasure. As the significance of this Tripolitan insurrection has been generally overlooked, the following trustworthy data are both interesting and important:

As a rule, colonial conquests furnish for a number of years disagreeable surprises for the colonizing power, as our neighbors across the Alps have experienced in Tunis, and especially in Algeria. This consideration does not, however, in the least lessen the bitter reflections aroused by what has recently happened in Tripoli, just as the region seemed to be finally pacified. The last conflict, at Sirta, has assumed a notable importance, both because of the treachery on a large scale of the irregular native auxiliaries, and because of the sad number of victims who died the death of heroes in the unequal combat.

The rebellion of a part of the native population, beginning in the interior and gradually spreading toward the coast, is of extreme gravity, and it is indeed to be deplored that the necessities of the international situation have not allowed us to take immediate and severe repressive measures, which would perhaps have checked this dangerous movement at the very outset. As, however, we did not wish to send troops from our national territory and were even obliged to retire our garrisons from the interior and to momentarily confine our effective occupation to the zone along the coast, it was inevitable that with populations accustomed to yield only to force, our retirement should seem a confession of weakness, and should therefore give greater encouragement to the insurgents.

We shall now be forced to traverse again the route that will make our sovereignty effective up to the boundaries of the colony. This must be done deliberately and firmly; above all, the central government and the colonial administration must have a clear and definite plan, for it has too often happened in our brief colonial history,

that only spasmodic efforts have been made, without any decided program and without any unity of action between the directing power in Rome and the local authorities. This is a very grave fault, one that has already proved very costly for other nations, and which might have exceedingly disastrous results.

## MAX NORDAU'S ATTITUDE IN THE WAR

FOR many generations Paris has been not only the capital of France, but, in a sense, a capital of nations. Men of letters, artists, musicians, and political refugees from the rest of Europe,—from all over the world, for that matter,—have found within her liberal borders intellectual hospitality as well as corporeal entertainment. Many a prophet has found his own country most ready to honor him after he had conquered public attention and applause in the city by the Seine.

It is but natural that in such instances a man of genius who has first gained recognition in France has found it convenient and profitable for various reasons to retain his residence in the city of his adoption, though feeling himself none the less a son of Italy, or Austria, Russia, or Germany. To men thus owing a divided allegiance the present conflict has in many instances brought grave embarrassment. They have been looked on with suspicion by fellow-countrymen on the one hand and by fellow-citizens on the other, and are placed in the difficult position of being called on to declare a partisan bias at the risk of being considered renegades or spies.

A very conspicuous instance is that of the famous Max Nordau, by birth a German of Jewish ancestry, but resident for many years in his adopted country, France, and frequent contributor to leading French periodicals, among others *La Revue*. So many requests have come to this journal for a statement of Nordau's attitude that the editor devotes a special page to its answer. He points out, to begin with, that the author of "Conventional Lies" did not sign the famous "manifesto of the 93," and he continues:

Far from desiring to defend Germany and her barbarous people, he has published since the beginning of the war a series of articles and studies favorable to France and indirectly blaming the Kaiser, his people, and his diplomats. . . . Though very severe towards certain writers and certain literary tendencies, the author of "Degeneracy" has never published anything, during his long career as a philosopher, moralist, and critic, against France and her people. And if he has

often been hard upon the symbolists and the decadents, he has been an equally resolute foe of Wagner, of Nietzsche, and of many German writers and artists.

M. Finot then quotes from a letter which appeared recently in *Le Temps* and *Le Figaro* wherein Nordau protests against accusations of Francophobia, adding:

I should have the right to disdain these attacks, but I count too many friends in France whose opinion is of moment to me to let them rest under the impression of allegations of whose falsity they cannot at present convince themselves.

At the present moment the legal fiction which admits of no exception for individual cases, makes of me theoretically an enemy of France, because I am a subject of a country with which she is at war. In spite of that I do not hesitate to invoke your equity, to which even an adversary in spite of himself will not appeal in vain, to beg you to permit me to protest indignantly against the injurious fabrications by which I am pursued.

I enclose herewith some articles which I have published in prominent journals of Berlin and Vienna since the beginning of the war. You can judge for yourself, *Monsieur le Directeur*, whether I deserve any credit for talking of France as I have done in the places where I have.

M. Nordau, who has at present established himself at Madrid, adds that during his thirty-seven years of residence in Paris he has always sought to do justice to France, to proclaim his admiration for her moral, intellectual, and artistic greatness, and to dissipate dangerous prejudices against her at certain critical moments. He closes his letter with the words:

I could cite Parisian journals which have more than once recognized my modest efforts with praise, and could publish letters and dedications signed by the most illustrious French names which have rewarded my labors upon the men, the ideas, and the works of France. But this would be neither dignified nor delicate. I confine myself to saying that it is not at this hour of destiny that I would change my sentiments and my attitude towards the France which is the legal fatherland of my children.

As a confirmation of the attitude thus indicated, other writings by Nordau are cited.

## RECRUITING IN ENGLAND

A PROPOS of the strenuous efforts now being made throughout Great Britain to enlist soldiers for service in the great war, as described by ex-Senator Beveridge elsewhere in this REVIEW, there have been several frank expressions of opinion in the English reviews. In the *Fortnightly*, for example, a Member of Parliament, Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, does not hesitate to criticize the methods employed by his government to induce volunteering.

Mr. Money complains that accurate knowledge as to the progress of recruiting and the results of the government's recruiting machinery is denied even to members of Parliament. But taking into account the facts that lie on the surface and are known to all men, this writer finds that "an enormous amount of money is being spent in issuing the most extraordinary series of advertisements ever issued by a government. In every newspaper and on every wall, there appear variegated appeals not only to men of military age, but to the wives, mothers, sisters, employers, friends, and acquaintances of men of military age. Some of these appeals are so extravagant that a visitor from Mars might be pardoned for believing them to be the handiwork of desperate men in whom rhetoric had got the better of reason. Many of them are apparently intended to create a feeling of shame in the minds of unrecruited young men."

One of these advertisements in which the writer addresses "four questions to the women of England" reads in part as follows:

Do you realize that the one word "Go" from YOU may send another man to fight for our King and Country?

When the War is over and your husband or son

is asked, "What did you do in the great War?"—is he to hang his head because YOU would not let him go?

To this was added: "Women of England, do your duty! Send your men today to join our glorious army. God save the King!"

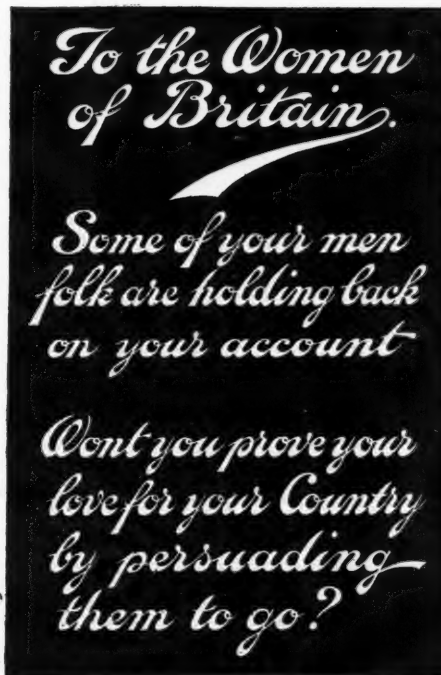
Mr. Money cannot refrain from raising the question whether a "volunteer" who would be shamed into going to war by such an appeal as

the above would be a really valuable soldier. The main suggestion, however, made by these and other costly advertisements is that recruiting cannot be altogether satisfactory if it is thought necessary to resort to appeals of such a character.


Alluding to the government's boast that 72,000 railroad men have been recruited for the war,—an achievement that was described by the Prime Minister as "magnificent,"—Mr. Money is tempted to say that it may be magnificent, but it is not necessarily war. His point is that when a nation is organized for war its railroads become an integral part of its

military operations, and if you send to the fighting line a single man who ought to be at his post helping to operate a railroad system a serious error is committed. The same thing is true in regard to men in other forms of necessary industrial employment.

As a result of the English recruiting system it seems clear that certain trades which are essential to the proper organization of the nation for war are being depleted, while many men whose services are of a different sort and who can much better be spared for the fighting-line are still unrecruited. It is asserted that many married men are taken while there are still an enormous number of unmarried men available.



SAMPLE RECRUITING POSTER



**WHAT WILL  
YOUR ANSWER BE**

When your boy  
asks you—

**'FATHER—WHAT  
DID YOU DO  
TO HELP WHEN  
BRITAIN FOUGHT  
FOR FREEDOM  
IN 1915'**

**ENLIST NOW**



**THINK!**

**ARE YOU CONTENT FOR  
HIM TO FIGHT FOR YOU?**

**WONT YOU DO YOUR BIT?**

**WE SHALL WIN  
BUT YOU MUST HELP**

**JOIN TO-DAY**

It is Mr. Money's contention that in order to obtain a maximum of military and economic strength from the nation promiscuous recruiting must be stopped at once. That every man of military age, whatever his rank or station, must be considered in relation to the national problem, and such part of that manhood as can be utilized for military purposes with the least loss of economic strength be taken. In this way there would be retained for the production of wealth, and especially for such commodities as are required for war material, that part of the country's labor forces that can best supply its needs.

While admitting that in this war the middle classes in England have played a better part than ever before, Mr. Money is still convinced that the proportion of recruiting from the middle classes has been much smaller than from the working classes. He regards it as unfortunate for the nation "that a vigorous young man of the middle classes should stop at home while a railroad man or miner goes to war, and the nation ought to see to it that such a double loss does not occur as that we should keep those we can spare and send those away whom we need at home."

An American observer, Mr. William C. Edgar, editor of the *Bellman* (Minneapolis), noted the use of the brass band as a supplemental agency in a recruiting campaign in progress in London. Troops marched through the streets, he says, to the sound of lively music. Some of the glamor of war was restored and the possible recruit was moved to action through not only his mind, but his imagination as well.

Mr. Edgar was impressed, however, by the posters, placards, and labels seen everywhere in London and throughout the United Kingdom as interesting and graphic evidences of a vigorous attempt being made to rouse the people to the national danger to the end that they may volunteer for service.

Lethargy and self-complacency, a feeling that the war is being conducted on foreign soil and therefore does not directly and immediately affect the individual Briton, retards recruiting to some degree; hence it is necessary to stir up the public to the gravity of the situation by every possible means.

The trouble in England, as Mr. Edgar sees it, is not from lack of confidence in the outcome nor from want of courage, but from a prevailing sentiment, especially among the less intelligent, that the Allies are sure to win anyhow and that there is no necessity for enlisting, at least for the present.

In a remarkable editorial published immediately after Lord Kitchener's call in May for 300,000 more recruits, the *London Spectator* declares:

If he had asked for a million, or even two million, more men we should not have been surprised, though even then, taking the Army and Navy together, we should not be doing, per head of population, more than, or even as much as, the French, and should be doing a very great deal less than the Germans. At such a juncture as this to ask for only three hundred thousand men literally makes one's brain reel. It would seem to show one of two things: either Lord Kitchener during the ten months that have elapsed since the beginning of the war has obtained far more men than the nation has any idea of, or else—which, of course, is a perfectly incredible, ridiculous, and impossible supposition,—Lord Kitchener is not aware of the wastage of war, and is under the delusion that the cadres of his fighting force can be kept up to strength (the absolutely essential condition for an efficient army) without a huge reserve.

A very little consideration will show that the notion of such a miscalculation on the part of so great a soldier as Lord Kitchener must be dismissed. We must not make any calculation as to the exact numbers of the men who are at this moment outside England fighting our enemies. Let us assume, however, purely for the sake of argument, that, taking into consideration not only the army in Flanders, but our forces at the Dardanelles, on the Persian Gulf, and in other parts of the world, we shall soon have a million men in the field. But when our men are fighting as they are bound to fight this summer, for the summer is the soldier's season, if we average the war wastage of the great battle months, such as May

has proved, with that of the quiet months, it will at the very least be 10 per cent. per month. [It may of course prove to be much more.] This means an immediate wastage of one hundred thousand a month to be made good. It means that unless one hundred thousand fresh men are raised every month, the armies in the field will begin to wither away. Of course up till now there has been no such wastage. We are speaking of the future,—of the period when the New Army will be at the front.

If no new men are raised, an army of a million would in ten months cease to exist. Therefore Lord Kitchener's new army of three hundred thousand, if he got them by June 1st, would have disappeared by September 1st.

Admitting that Lord Kitchener has other great supplies of men for drafting purposes and could keep 1,000,000 men in the field for a year without using these extra 300,000,

the *Spectator* regards it as still probable that England will want to have ultimately not 1,000,000 men but a million and a half in the field and a million and a half at home to feed them. The *Spectator's* only suggestion to explain Lord Kitchener's policy is that he intends to make successive calls at short intervals for additional enlistment. This policy the *Spectator* regards as wholly unsatisfactory, and ventures to predict that within a few months there will be an imperative need for supplying drafts to the British army at the front and that the voluntary system will prove inadequate to supply them. Then the government will be compelled to adopt a policy of compulsion, or what in this country was known as the draft in the Civil War.

## THE FUTURE OF HOLLAND

A RECENT issue of *La Revue* (Paris) contains a most significant article from the pen of H. G. Wells, the noted English writer, on Holland's future, what course it would be the part of wisdom for her to pursue in the present conflict, and other vitally interesting points. The article is prefaced by an editorial note to the effect that the events of the last weeks lend a tense interest to Wells' contentions, adding that the Dutch papers, even those the most friendly to the Germans, now maintain that Germany's annexation of Belgium would strike a death-blow at Holland.

What changes, Mr. Wells asks, may be wrought by the war in Holland's status? What is likely to be her fate in the near future?

It is an indisputable fact that at the present moment Holland holds the key to the European situation.

At the outset of the war there was reason to fear that Holland's neutrality might be violated, but the danger of a German attack is daily diminishing. Holland's position to-day is one of immense material consequence to Germany and of sincere moral integrity as regards the Allies. From the outbreak of hostilities and during a momentous crisis she has borne herself patiently and loyally; has endured inevitable provocations honestly and with dignity. Should she be subjected now to a German outrage and hurl her fine army of over 400,000 men upon Aix-la-Chapelle she would hold Germany in check by a swift defeat. And that is the important point in Holland's present position.

She holds a keen-edged sword suspended over Germany! Did it ever occur to her to join the

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German side? She would, no doubt, have effectively reinforced Germany's western front, but her action would not have been a decisive factor in the war. Should she, on the contrary, join the Allies, it would have a quite different significance. Let us frankly admit it—she would strike a decisive blow in the conflict. Cutting off the main routes of the German army in Flanders, she would surround, would help to capture, the greater part of the German western army, and would not only open the way to an attack on the Rhine, but, more important still, would divert its defensive forces. In fact, she would very rapidly give a finishing stroke to the German Empire. This is not divulging a strategic secret; one need but look at the map to confirm its truth.

Each day diminishes Germany's chances of offensive action, but each day, likewise, the destruction of Belgium goes on; the misery of its inhabitants, whom Holland could succor and deliver, grows apace. Why does she hesitate to join the Allies? Is she satisfied as she is, because her liberty remains intact—with the Allies, practically, fighting to insure it to her?

Has the fear of Germanization, which has harassed her for over forty years, vanished, then, into thin air? Or does she fear that the "good," vindictive Germans may make a last, supreme effort in devastating her?

Let us not try to blink the fact: Unless Holland intervenes the war will last a long time. It is essential for the whole world that it should cease!

It is a terrible burden for Holland herself to keep her army mobilized, even without fighting; her commerce is stagnant; she is encumbered with all manner of refugees; does not self-interest counsel her to adopt a course which will hasten the end of this state of things?

Mr. Wells' impression of the Dutch,—and the English, he maintains, understand the Dutch character well,—is that they are not very easily daunted. The fear of German

retaliation would have no great weight with them; what would rather incite them to action would be a feeling of compassion for the little, heroic Belgian nation and the desire to teach the impudent Germans a wholesome lesson. In joining the Allies Holland would do more than put an end to a grievous conflict; she would bravely defend right and justice, and would emerge considerably enlarged from the European convulsion.

It would be absurd to suppose that Germany should have perpetrated so many infamies and outrages in Belgium and the beautiful provinces of France without her having to pay an abundant and bitter penalty for her crimes. Besides an immense indemnity, France and Belgium must push their frontiers far beyond their present ones. The integrity of Liège will be guaranteed by the annexation of the German district extending from Aix-la-Chapelle to Cologne. France will extend to the Rhine.

Do not let us talk any longer of buffer states, since Germany cannot respect them.

The case standing thus, Holland may look forward to having as her neighbor a greater and stronger Belgium, closely allied to France and England. Moreover, would Great Britain tolerate Germany's possession of East Friesland, which is a constant menace to her on the north of Holland? She will use her best efforts to secure a lasting peace in the future, but, justly, to insure it, Germany should be driven beyond the North Sea; since England does not covet East Friesland, Holland could, to her own advantage, incorporate this detached province.

And now let us imagine the impossible: The allies were unable to annihilate German militarism. What would be Holland's fate twenty years after? Belgium and France intimately united by

common trials, with a common language and literature, developed, regenerated, grown too powerful to tempt Germany to a new aggression, the latter will turn all its hatred against England alone, and profiting by the experience of 1914, she will, without scruple, violate isolated Holland in order to make her way to the mouth of the Rhine, thus unhesitatingly demonstrating her vindictive rancor at Holland's lukewarmness towards Teuton brotherhood.

In view of all these considerations, Holland ought ardently to desire the end of German supremacy and definitely join the great alliance of the Western powers.

England is disposed to protect by the surveillance of its navy the integrity of the Dutch colonial possessions; the mutual protection of the four united Western states, England, France, Belgium, and Holland would be the best guarantee of the security of them all. Only thus can Holland emerge a stronger state!

Truly, this course is alluring. Hundreds of Dutch citizens are at this moment studying the map and thinking of all these things. Granting that Holland will remain intact, as a reward for her neutrality, what will happen to her in the future? She will remain isolated, with little hope and no friends, exposed to being girdled about by the good Teuton brotherhood, who will see to it that the German language shall gradually replace the Dutch, will without scruple Germanize her colonies and subordinate her commerce to that of Hamburg, Altona, or Antwerp!

No! no! never will a sound nation consent to such a promiscuity with Germany!

Even without serious violations of her neutrality Holland will decide to push her troops on towards Belgium. With slight effort she could relieve and deliver her martyred neighbor; by the mere movement of her army she would compel Germany to evacuate her sister nation. At present the power of directing the course of European events lies in her hands!

## RUSSIA, POLAND, AND THE DARDANELLES

AS Italy is now making common cause with the powers of the Triple Entente and is destined to have an important voice in the eventual adjustment of the map of Europe in case the fortunes of war favor this side, an Italian opinion as to the claims and expectations of Russia, in respect to Austrian territory especially, possesses considerable interest. More particularly when the opinion comes from one who has had such excellent opportunities for forming it as Signor Melegari, who was the Italian Ambassador to St. Petersburg from 1905 to 1913. Signor Melegari contributes an article on the subject to *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

That Russian demands, in case of victory, will not only concern her own national re-

quirements, but also those of Serbia and Montenegro is, of course, well known, and also that Russia's supreme aim is, as it has ever been, the possession of Constantinople and the control of the Dardanelles. Whether or no she would be able to overcome or conjure the suspicious jealousy of the other powers so as to gain their consent may be open to doubt.

In regard to Austrian territory, however, apart from the requirement that Serbia should secure that part inhabited by those of Serbian speech, there is a general belief that Russia would annex Eastern Galicia, combining this province with her own Polish possessions, and perhaps with Prussian Poland, into a new, more or less autonomous

Poland under Russian control. As to this, however, Signor Melegari is not very confident; indeed, he inclines to the opinion that Russian mistrust might prevent the carrying out of the plan. Weighing the arguments for and against this course, he says:

In favor of a partial or complete annexation of Eastern Galicia many weighty motives of a historical order might be adduced. In the first place, this would restore to Russia a land which in past times formed an integral part of the domains of the Princes of Kieff, who combined to form a state that preserved its independence under Russian princes of the house of Rurik until the Polish conquest; secondly, there dwell in this territory four million Russians (Ruthenians), who during five centuries have given ample proofs of national steadfastness, and, thirdly, the present open frontier of Podolia and Volinia would be replaced by that formed by the Dniester and the San, or even better, by the great natural barrier of the Carpathians.

On the other hand, considerations of a more general character, even from an exclusively Russian viewpoint, might be brought forward against the annexation. The loss of the vast Galician domains, which in area and population represent but little less than one-quarter of the entire complex of Austrian territory, to say nothing of the further amputations that would be demanded in favor of Serbia and other countries, would perhaps result in a complete transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as at present constituted, leaving as sole survivors the more vigorous nationalities, such as the Magyars and the Germans, and this would imply a greater peril for Russia than the present complicated structure of the duplex monarchy. The subtraction of from six to eight million Galicians would reduce the Slavonic element to a feeble minority, giving a crushing superiority to the Hungarians and Germans. Austro-Hungary would then be nothing more than a satellite of Germany, a blind instrument in her hands for any future enterprises.

The dislike of Germany and the Germans felt by many Russians has its roots rather in the successful utilization of the vast resources of the Russian Empire by Germans in Russia for their own benefit than in any racial antipathy. The fact that the Germans have been able to establish a ruinous competition in many branches of Russian industry and commerce has made them unpopular with their unsuccessful competitors. This, however, chiefly concerns the business world of Russia and should not be taken as indicative of Russian opinion as a whole. Of the various factors that favor a good understanding with Germany, Signor Melegari writes:

Whatever may be the popularity of a war, it cannot entirely wipe out the past; it is impossible in a single moment to change into implacable hatred the sentiments resulting from an affinity

of blood, from habits of long standing, from common memories. Hence many of the political leaders, long accustomed to regard the maintenance of friendly relations with Germany as one of the cardinal principles of Russian diplomacy, while recognizing the necessity of the present war, felt but little enthusiasm for it. It will be very difficult to bring them to share in the views of those who, in Russia as well as in the other allied nations, categorically demand the destruction of Germany, as though it were possible to crush a people that has shown such indomitable power of national resistance. Moreover, it is not upon a basis of violence and destruction that can be raised the structure of a really stable and enduring peace.

The annexation of Eastern Galicia would oblige Russia, conformably to the pledges made by the commander-in-chief, Grand Duke Nicholas, in his proclamation to the Poles, to give to Poland, under the Russian sceptre, a large degree of autonomy. It remains to be seen whether such a program, in direct contradiction to the policy constantly followed for forty years by Russia, not only in regard to Poland, but also in regard to Finland, to the Caucasian provinces and to the Baltic provinces, can be regarded as compatible with the security of the Russian Empire and with the requirements of national defense.

Poland is indeed united with Russia by the bonds of race, but it is separated by centuries of national rivalry, by the incompatibility resulting from differences of faith, of traditions and of civilization. To these innate antipathies must be added the inextinguishable hatred of the Poles against the usurpers of their native land. During a century of foreign domination, interrupted from time to time by futile insurrections rigorously repressed, the Poles have guarded intact their national virtues, as well as their defects, which conspire to render them a turbulent and dangerous element for Russia.

In conclusion, the writer emphasizes in the strongest possible way the unshakable determination of Russia to secure the outlet to the Mediterranean that has ever been the dream of her rulers and statesmen. His long and intimate acquaintance with Russian politics makes these closing words of his paper especially worthy of consideration, and perhaps we may see in them an indication of Italy's eventual attitude in the matter:

As to the question of the Dardanelles and of Constantinople, Russian public opinion has already assumed a firmly decisive tone, and is ready, when the occasion arises, to make itself heard with no uncertain voice. It will admit neither subterfuges nor palliatives; it will demand that the Gordian knot be sharply cut, and in Russia's favor. It might consent that Constantinople should remain Turkish, but it would never consent that any other power than Russia should acquire that city.

Russia feels that her sturdy shoulders are expected to sustain the major part of the burden of this war, and she is ready and willing to spare no effort to bring it to a successful conclusion, but she will never permit that she should be cheated out of the reward which is her due.

## THE LEADERS OF ANARCHY IN MEXICO

IN the last of a series of articles contributed by Caspar Whitney to the *Outlook* (New York) during May the leaders of the several factions in that unhappy country are briefly characterized. Mr. Whitney's own views as to the possible outcome of present conditions in Mexico are by no means optimistic. Barring the intervention of the United States, it seems to him that a dictatorship is imminent, but with the possible exception of Francisco Villa he thinks that no one in sight is likely to measure up to the task of pulling the nation up from the depth of anarchy into which she has fallen.

Carranza, says Mr. Whitney, had his chance and failed ignominiously. "Barren of executive ability, though replete with a nimble pettifoggish spirit, he aroused the scorn and hatred of all Mexico outside of his immediate camp. That he is also stupid was clearly shown by his patently envious and unreasonable attitude toward Villa, whose fealty he could have retained by fair conduct and unbroken agreement."

A provisional government which the United States would cheerfully have recognized and encouraged could have been formed in August, 1914, with Carranza at its head. But Mr. Whitney does not hesitate to say that at that time Carranza "put harmony out of the question by assumption of authority over men he did not control and of an uprightness he does not possess, as I have tangible evidence to prove."

Both Carranza and Obregon, hating Mexico City and its people, devoted most of their time and effort to searching out the "enemies" of the cause, confiscating their property, and perhaps killing them. Mr. Whitney recapitulates some of Carranza's administrative acts such as closing down the national railway system, closing schools, suppressing newspapers, diverting charity institutional income, nullifying Villa money, and always proclaiming himself "all of the law and the prophets." He is First Chief, says Mr. Whitney, not because his men are loyal to him, but because he is an easy boss to his officers who do as they please, and because Alvaro Obregon, his commanding general, is a bitter hater of Villa.

Gutierrez, ex-Provisional President, and Lucio Blanco, a general who deserted Carranza for Villa, and later went back to his first allegiance, are both dismissed by Mr.

Whitney as unworthy to be taken seriously in a canvass of Mexican leadership.

Obregon [whose name is said to be a Mexican corruption of the Irish name, O. B. Regan] is regarded as the one really strong man among the Carranza generals, and he and Felipe Angeles, of Villa's forces, are ranked by Mr. Whitney as the two strongest military men of Mexico after Villa. Each of these men is said to have a presidential bee in his bonnet and we are likely to hear more of them later. Angeles is well born and well educated, the only man on either side of military fame.

One of the very few trustworthy men in public life in Mexico to-day, according to Mr. Whitney, is Felicitas Villareal, Villa's Minister of Finance, who was arrested by Carranza when Obregon marched into Mexico City on its evacuation by the Zapatistas. If he is not executed by Carranza, Villareal may some day prove to be a real asset to Mexico when the day comes that she can set out about the rehabilitation of her finances.

Of Villa himself, the man to whom most of those outside the factions look for a solution of the present difficulties, Mr. Whitney is not sure whether he will prove equal to the dual task of fighting and playing politics. Yet, without being in any degree intellectual, Villa appears to Mr. Whitney to be a man of resource, great energy and force.

He is a fighter, and a lustful one, who is at his best when he is in the field on the job,—not in the city. He is, too, I believe, more sincere than the others in his expressed wish to bring his country to peace and establish stable government. He has no personal ambition outside of this, he told me; and I credit his assertion, not because he told me so, but because his course since he came prominently before the country as a national leader in the last two years rather corroborates it. He has eased rather than made more difficult, as Carranza has done, the business situation where he could, has set industry a-moving in his own north section, restrained the looting of his men, restricted the sale of pulque, punished graft where he could reach it, has drafted a practical way of adjusting the land or agrarian question, and altogether appears to be a man of common sense—a quality not so often encountered in Mexico.

Yet Mr. Whitney does not regard Villa as the right kind of timber for a beneficent dictator of the Juarez and Diaz type. Notwithstanding his brutal characteristics, his furious outbursts of temper, and his cruelty, Villa is said to have two distinct virtues.



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FRANCESCO VILLA

VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

EMILIANO ZAPATA



© International News Service

FILIFE ANGELES

FELICITAS VILLAREAL

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ALVARO OBREGON

He does not drink and those who have done business with him say that, as a general thing, he keeps his word.

Zapata is not regarded by Mr. Whitney as strictly a national figure in the Mexican question. In Morélos State, his battle-

ground, employing his own efforts at guerilla warfare, Zapata has always been a formidable opponent. His Indian retainers hardly constitute an army and are not strong in the open, but very difficult to dislodge at home in the brush.

## THE CELIBATE WOMAN OF TO-DAY

**W**HY do so many women refuse to marry, and what compensations can a life of celibacy bring them? This is the query propounded by Earl Barnes in the *Popular Science Monthly* for June.

In 1910, there were 8,924,056 women in the United States, neither married, widowed, nor divorced, a total of 29.7 per cent. of all the women over fifteen years of age. There are nearly 400,000 public school teachers in America, hardly any of whom are married. Have the regulations in regard to married teachers been the sole prohibitive agent in keeping these teachers in a life of celibacy?

The author thinks that the "growth in

democratic ideals which has been steadily working among women since 1870, has much to do with it."

Women have ceased to be merely "the sex"; they have become individuals . . . a woman seeks fulfillment not only for her personal liking, but for all the qualities of her varied personal life.

The celibate woman retains her freedom of action. Through study, travel, art, science, or society, she may reach a degree of self-realization not always attained by her sister who marries.

The desire for service which lies so deep in the nature of all good women can often be more fully realized in a life of personal freedom than in one of marriage. At least there may be a different realization of very great value to the individual and to society. Such women as Clara Barton,

Susan B. Anthony, and Jane Addams have brought gifts of service to mankind far beyond what they would probably have given in their own homes.

Woman to-day shares with man the desire to possess life vicariously. She has become self-conscious,—awkwardly so in some instances,—and the follower after the joy of vital experience. Her superior intelligence is a barrier to early marriage, as she has isolated herself from her class, and failing to reach the man her intellect desires, she will not accept the one who is beneath her in education and intelligence.

The social emancipation of women lags far behind her intellectual and economic freedom, so that the young women we are considering still move socially in their family planes. The men in that group are too ignorant and too poor to suit her; and the men with whom she works know her only as a stenographer, a teacher, or a journalist.

And beyond this there is a restriction of public meeting-places for the woman or girl who is not socially fortunate; they move in a small treadmill. "The hunting field is narrow and the difficulty of selection has increased."

A generation ago, a girl might hope to find a desirable mate among a dozen acquaintances.

Now she needs to look over a hundred young men to find her own.

The wonder is not that we have so many unmarried women in America, but that we have so few. Nature has loaded the dice in favor of marriage and she generally has her own way. Many of these young women, however, will never marry. Nuns will continue to vow their virginity to the Celestial Bridegroom; reformers will spend their lives in securing social justice for their sisters and their sisters' children; professional women will seek fame and service; teachers will fight off the wars of the future, not with submarines and aeroplanes, but with ideas and ideals implanted and nourished in young minds. Many other women, with no particular devotion to sustain them, will be held by the charm of the pay envelope and independent latch-key until it is too late; while the accidents of fate will leave many stranded in their struggle towards a complete life.

Meantime there can be no doubt that the most complete life a woman can live, at least between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five, is found in a marriage based on a deep and lasting love.

Beyond certain negative values, the only real compensation Mr. Barnes finds for the celibate women who cannot attain to the perfection of wedded happiness, lies in self-realization through vicarious living, and though their lives are biologically lost, there still remains their service to the forces of civilization and culture.

## THE ULTRA-VIOLET RAYS IN CHEMISTRY AND BIOLOGY

THE eminent French scientist, Daniel Berthelot, has for some years been making an investigation of the ultra-violet rays; his experiments have revealed much of interest, and recently culminated in the sensational discovery that by their means a synthesis of carbon dioxide and water vapor can be obtained such as is made by the living plant when sunshine acts on the chlorophyll, or green coloring matter of its leaves. Thus for the first time the chemist has accomplished in his laboratory a feat which had been supposed necessitated the vital activity of the plant.

In a lecture given lately by M. Berthelot before the Society of Civil Engineers in Paris, and reported in *Cosmos* (Paris), this and other remarkable properties of these rays are described. M. Berthelot even goes so far as to express the view that the twentieth century may be as notable for its mechanical and practical applications of light as the nineteenth century was for those of elec-

tricity and the eighteenth for those of heat.

The ultra-violet rays, though invisible to the human eye, are none the less to be considered as rays of light. They occur beyond the violet end of the spectrum and are made known by their chemical effects, as, for instance, on a photographic film or on the pigment in the skin. Their essential characteristic is their high potential of energy. M. Berthelot says:

Just as an electric furnace at 3000° C. has a higher thermic potential than a coke furnace at 1000° C., a mercury lamp producing ultra-violet rays vibrating at the rate of 2000 trillion oscillations per second has a higher luminous potential than a mere gas jet vibrating at 600 trillions per second.

The ultra-violet rays are produced abundantly by the sun, but are almost entirely absorbed by the atmosphere, except on high mountains, where they cause the sunstrokes well known to Alpinists. To-day we produce them artificially by various devices, of which the most efficacious is the electric arc between metal, and especially the lamp of mercury vapor in a quartz vacuum tube. The

ultra-violet rays are arrested by glass and by most of the transparent mediums pervious to ordinary light.

This is why quartz is used, and it has other advantages. Thus it can be raised to very high temperatures, at which glass would melt or soften, and this quality is important because it is under just such conditions that its use is most economical. Then, even when hot, it can be plunged into cold water without breaking, owing to the very slight dilatation of the quartz. This quality is especially valuable when the rays are used to sterilize water, for which purpose they are being increasingly employed. M. Berthelot continues:

The ultra-violet rays are the most dangerous known. Even at a distance of a few decimeters (a decimeter is less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch) they will cause in less than a minute burns of the skin, sunstrokes, and painful affections of the eye. The reverse of the medal is more agreeable. These rays kill almost instantly the monocellular organisms, microbes and bacteria. But clear water is one of the liquids most transparent to the ultra-violet rays. . . . Hence they lend themselves perfectly to the sterilization of drinking water. . . .

Another application of a more general order and less immediately exploitable is the rôle they play as an agent for restoring chemical energy in the world. . . . The plant takes the two gases set free by animal respiration (carbon dioxide and water-vapor) and combines them to form the sugars and other carbohydrates which furnish food to men and animals. . . . Thus the animal diffuses matter into the gaseous state from the solid; the plant concentrates it anew, making it pass from the gaseous state to the solid. The animal degrades chemical energy; the plant restores it.

This synthetic function of green plants in sunlight has not till recently been reproduced in our laboratories. . . . I have been able to prove, in the course of researches conducted in my laboratory of vegetable physics at Meudon, that this function is not a property peculiar to living matter, but is due to light. In other words, it is not *vital*, but physico-chemical activity. It is precisely this superior energetic quality of ultra-violet light, which our predecessors had not at their disposal, which has enabled me to succeed where they failed.

By exposing a mixture of carbon dioxide and water-vapor to the ultra-violet rays from a mercury lamp, in a series of experiments conducted with the help of his assistant, M. Gandechon, M. Berthelot proved that these two gases, containing, respectively, carbon and oxygen, and hydrogen and oxygen, united to form saccharine substances containing the three elements, carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, precisely as they combine in living plants to form such substances.

This photo-synthesis of ternary compounds being successfully accomplished, the next step was an attempt to form quaternary compounds, *i. e.*, those containing nitrogen as well as carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen.

Under the influence of the ultra-violet rays the two simplest mineral gases which contain these four elements, *i. e.*, carbon dioxide and ammonia gas, unite to form the first in the series of quaternary compounds, formic amide, the point of departure for the building of those substances known as albuminoids or proteids, the base of protoplasm and living matter. My father showed long ago how one might manufacture alimentary substances synthetically; but it was by processes very different from those in nature, by means of energetic chemical reagents which are little compatible with life. . . . To-day, thanks to the ultra-violet rays, we are in possession of processes, which, if not economical, are at least of an admirable theoretic simplicity and extremely similar to those employed by nature herself.

In view of this brilliant achievement, it is not to be wondered at that M. Berthelot ventures to predict that some day we may call on the engineer instead of the farmer for at least a part of our food supply in some circumstances! The next feature discussed in his lecture was the purification of the atmosphere by these rays. He observed:

These facts involve an important hygienic application. An animal placed in an air-tight enclosure (a submarine boat, for example), little by little transforms the oxygen of the air into carbon dioxide, and dies asphyxiated. But if we place in a bell-jar both an animal and a green plant and then expose both to the sun the animal will continue to live. The plant purifies the air vitiated by the animal; it decomposes the carbon dioxide and liberates oxygen. But the mercury lamp plays the same rôle as the sun in such a case. If humid air vitiated by respiration be made to circulate about such a lamp it will gradually regain oxygen and become respirable. It is not too much to hope that processes of this nature may some day serve to purify the air of submarines and unventilatable enclosures.

The final topic in this notable address was the reproduction of the principal types of fermentation by means of the ultra-violet rays. Physiologists have long been able to digest food artificially by placing it in a water-bath kept at the temperature of the human body, and adding the proper ferments or diastases. And now M. Berthelot has obtained similar digestive operations by placing sugars, fats, and albumens in quartz bulbs and submitting them to the ultra-violet rays! To use his own startling words:

We have here digestion by light. The ultra-violet rays replace the ferments. The bulb represents an artificial stomach made of rock crystal.

## NEW LIGHT ON THE FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE

**B**UT for the manner in which international affairs have absorbed newspaper space and taken public attention, the country would have been made to realize more keenly the seriousness of the plague of so-called "foot-and-mouth" disease that swept across the country with great rapidity last fall and winter, with recurrence here and there during the spring. Although this disease attacks all sorts of domestic animals, its greatest danger has been to herds of dairy cattle. Measures taken by the Government consisted of rigid quarantine of the States or counties or districts infected,—together with the prompt slaughter and burial in quicklime of diseased animals and herds.

It so happened that the International Dairy Show had brought together at Chicago, last November, some hundreds of animals constituting the most valuable collection of high-pedigreed livestock ever assembled at any given time or place. These notable representatives of the Holstein, Guernsey, Ayrshire, Jersey, and other families (many individuals being worth several thousand dollars each) became infected with foot-and-mouth disease from the Chicago stockyards. The United States Government yielded to persuasion, and spared these animals from slaughter. It was arranged that they should be kept isolated for a few weeks, and then placed under strict quarantine upon a farm in the vicinity of Chicago, where they would be brought under close observation and the disease could be studied.

Dr. Joseph Hughes had charge of these cattle, and he has now made public some very interesting results of their internment. *Hoard's Dairyman*, in an extended article, reports an address given by Dr. Hughes, late in May, before a breeders' association in Wisconsin. To begin with conclusions, let it be said that these hundreds of fine animals came through the foot-and-mouth malady as through a short period of fever, all of them recovered perfectly excepting perhaps four that were eliminated for other reasons, and great light is thrown upon the nature and course of the disease and its treatment.

To quote from the article in the *Dairyman*:

The speaker felt certain that by the first of June the cattle would be declared by the United States Government free of all danger of carrying the disease and would be allowed to return home, to

the joy of the owners and the contentment of their pocketbooks. The authorities of several States have already written that as soon as the cattle get a clean bill of health from the federal government, they will be glad to receive them back into their States.

The speaker, during the course of his remarks, criticized indirectly the federal officials for certain sins of omission and commission, but stated that he heartily endorsed the work done by the department in stamping out the disease and that the officials in charge were worthy of great credit for the work accomplished. He also stated his conviction that the slaughter method of combating the disease was the best and cheapest for the United States.

It is interesting to note the way in which the question of continued or latent infection was met and answered. After the cattle had been interned for about ten weeks, fifty steers and fifty hogs, together with a few calves, were purchased in the neighborhood and put in contact with the quarantined dairy animals. This was in order "to determine whether it was possible for these Dairy Show cattle to give the disease to other animals, and whether it would be safe to finally release them from quarantine."

The United States Department of Agriculture sent six representatives, two of whom were considered experts in this disease, to conduct an experimental test. After holding the test cattle in quarantine for a month, on March 26 fifty of the steers were brought into the stable and placed at various intervals between cattle that had had the disease, the calves being still segregated for experimental purposes. In addition to experimenting by natural contact of one animal with another, extensive experiments were made in trying to infect these steers. . . .

The steers continued to mingle with the dairy cattle from March 26 until May 10, when they were removed. During this period the testing above outlined daily proceeded, but none of the steers have shown any symptoms of foot-and-mouth disease.

Although it is cheering to know that the foot-and-mouth disease is not fatal where animals have good care, and that recovered animals have their full strength and capacity for milk production or other service, it remains true, in the opinion of the experts, that the cheapest and best way to deal with this infectious plague is to eliminate with the utmost promptness every animal or herd from which the malady could spread to adjacent farms. Thus Dr. Hughes and those who have conducted the experiments in Chicago and Wisconsin endorse the policy of the Bureau of Animal Industry at Washington.



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

TURKISH BOY SCOUTS

## THE BOY SCOUTS IN WAR TIMES

THE practical value to England of the Boy Scouts in this period of national peril is seriously discussed in the *Hibbert Journal* by Captain Cecil Price. A time of national emergency, says this writer, has found the Boy Scouts organization ready on the instant to contribute its quota to the public weal. As soon as the war cloud threatened to burst over England, word was sent from the Chief Scout, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, to every Scout headquarters in the United Kingdom that all Scouts possible would be needed in the crisis. Within the space of a week all of the 22,000 Scouts in the London area were completely mobilized, as well as all the available Scouts in the country, more especially along the coast. The duties that were at once allotted to these lads were as follows:

Handing out notices to inhabitants, and other duties connected with billeting, commandeering, warning, etc.

Carrying out communications by means of despatch riders, signallers, wireless, etc.

Guarding and patrolling bridges, culverts, telegraph lines, etc., against damage by individual spies.

Collecting information as to supplies, transport, etc., available.

Carrying out organized relief measures among inhabitants.

Helping families of men employed in defence duties, or sick or wounded.

Establishing first-aid, dressing, or nursing stations, refuges, dispensaries, soup kitchens, etc., in their club-rooms.

Acting as guides, orderlies, etc.

Forwarding despatches dropped by aircraft.

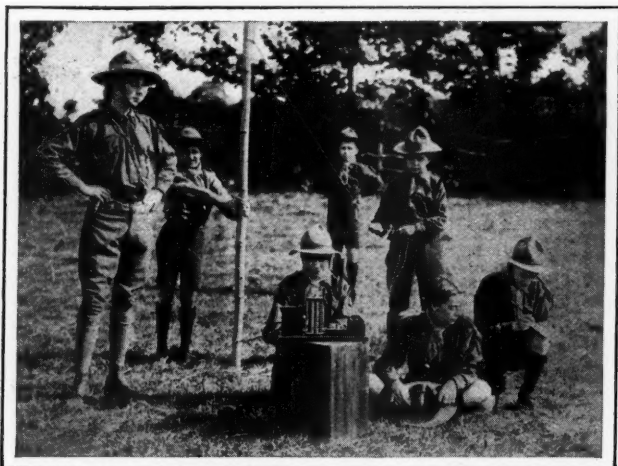
Sea scouts watching estuaries and ports, guiding vessels in unbuoyed channels, or showing lights to friendly vessels, etc., and assisting coastguards.

This by no means exhausts the list.

To show how the Boy Scouts are suited to much of the work that has been entrusted to them, Captain Price gives a brief outline of the kind of training which a Scout has to undergo before he is permitted to wear the efficiency badge. For instance, a boy chosen to assist in a first-aid capacity must have passed a test within ten per cent error. He knows the fireman's lift, how to drag an insensible man with ropes; how to improvise a stretcher; the position of main arteries; how to stop bleeding from vein or artery, internal or external, and how to improvise splints and to diagnose and bind fractured limbs.

The intimate knowledge of the local districts required of Scouts to receive the "Pathfinder" badge should prove extremely useful to troops drafted into different parts of the country and on the coast.

It is computed that fully 20,000 Boy Scouts throughout the Kingdom have been requisitioned for special duties. Some, for instance, were desired to relieve the telegraph department, and ten were designated for patrol work in an aircraft factory at night time. Boy Scouts provided with bicycles act as messengers for the staff of workers at the War Office. The uniform of the



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## ENGLISH BOY SCOUTS—THE WIRELESS CORPS

Boy Scouts is recognized by the British Government as the uniform of a public-service, non-military body. The Scouts remain, however, what they have always been, a strictly non-military body, without arms or regulation drill.

Boy Scouts wherever that institution extends, as an example of the highest fidelity to the spirit of Scout Law.

A senior Scout of Belgium, Georges Leyssen, of Liège, a lad of eighteen, was decorated by King Albert and given a commission.

Scouts are even employed to guard the concentration camps where alien enemies are interned.

Captain Price relates the story of the French Boy Scout who was shot by Germans because he refused to betray a party of his countrymen who were ambushed in a wood:

"... He went with firm step to a telegraph post, and stood up against it with the green vineyard at his back, and received the volley of the firing party with a proud smile on his face."

Here was bravery indeed. It is to be hoped that the name and locality of this youthful French hero may be rescued from oblivion, that his gallant deed may be remembered by

## THE "DOGS OF WAR" IN MODERN DAYS

IT is reported in history that in 650 B.C., the Greeks of Ionia made use of dogs in their war against the Cimmerians to aid Ardys, the son of Gyges. Doubtless these were wild, wolf-like creatures of savage nature, which not only chased, but seized and tore their human quarry. But in this twentieth century, while dogs form a very important feature of military supplies, their services are chiefly devoted to the humaner side of warfare.

They are, in fact, employed in no less than five ways. Chief among these is that of Red Cross dogs, serving as aids to the ambulance men in finding wounded soldiers who may have crawled off into bushes, woods, ditches, or caves. But they are also employed as post dogs, as questing or search dogs, as sentinels or watch dogs, and finally as draft dogs, to draw mitrailleuses, as well as carts.

A recently-arrived number of *La Nature* (Paris) discourses informingly upon these various offices of man's most familiar and intelligent friend among the lower animals. The Belgian dogs are peculiarly valuable in

these respects, though German, French, and English breeds are also made use of. "For these applications," says the writer, "the French spirit, in Belgium, gave the initiative and primary idea, while Germany followed with methodical organization." He continues thus:



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## THE GERMANS USE DOGS TO HELP FIND THE WOUNDED



RED CROSS DOG FINDING WOUNDED SOLDIER

The Belgians have long been interested in dogs, both for sport and for practical purposes. Wherever one goes in Flanders one cannot fail to note the number of vehicles drawn by dogs. Dogs trained to search for the wounded were first exhibited at the dog shows at Ostend and Spa. Some years later there was founded a national society for the improvement of the shepherd dog, which found valuable support in the Institute of Animal Psychology, and in its turn sustained the idea of another group,—the *Société du Chien Sanitaire* (Society of Red Cross Dogs). About the same time similar societies were founded in Germany and France. Their object was the training of the search dog to hunt for the wounded, who often escape the observation of the most attentive ambulance men, while the dog succeeds in unearthing them immediately by his keen scent (*flair*). Shortly afterward the same Belgian lieutenant who had founded the *Société du Chiens Sanitaires*, Lieut. Van de Putti, likewise recognized the aptitude of the draft dog for dragging mitrailleuses.

The leagues already existing for the breeding of draft dogs, profiting by their coöperation, he found the way thus prepared, so that from the beginning of the present war the Belgians have had on hand an army of dogs for drawing their mitrailleuses.

At this point the writer remarks that since it would be indiscreet to give precise information as to the provision in this respect made by his French compatriots, he will describe the German organization, leaving us to infer that the French is conducted on similar lines of efficiency. He states that a society for shepherd-dogs has existed in Germany since 1880, having at present 4000 members, and publishing a list of 45,000 dogs, of which 4000 forming a military register are characterized by special aptitudes. These are divided as follows:

1. Police dogs,—P. H. (H. stands for hound.)

2. Red Cross or Sanitary Dogs for hunting out the wounded,—S. H.

3. Searching or questing dogs,—Z. H.

4. Post dogs,—P. H.

5. Sentinel and watch dogs,—W. & B. H.

These comprise two armies, one in active service, and one composed of reserves. Finally there is a training department attached to the Sanitäts Division.

The best Belgian breeds, perfected by years of inheritance and selection, are the Malinois, Groenendael, and Tervueren. Besides these, the Germans use various breeds, including a shepherd dog originating in the valley of Munster, in Alsace, and in the valley of the Bâle, etc., as well as the Airedale terrier, which is likewise much used by the English and Russians.

Even in times of peace the battalions of *chasseurs* employ post dogs and sentinel dogs, while other regiments have as many as ten dogs apiece. As an advance sentinel a well-trained dog easily hides in a furrow or behind a bush or hillock. Having acute ears he easily detects the slightest unusual sound. In such case he does not bark, but returns to the sharp-shooters, apprising them they must be on their guard. He is thus a valuable aid in avoiding surprises by night.

He is also a useful companion for a spy. If the latter, for example, is signalling by a luminous kite, the dog runs to warn his master in case a patrol comes up suddenly, whereupon the spy cuts the string and assumes an air of innocent unconcern. The search dog accompanies a patrol and beats the ground for an enemy in ambush, just as he would rouse a hare.

In post dogs, use is made of the remarkable faculty of recognition of individuals possessed by some dogs in order to deliver secret messages. The sanitary or Red Cross dogs are very intelligent in finding wounded men who might else be left to die. The chief physician holds the dog on a long leash, which is slipped at an opportune moment. Thanks to a bell on the dog's neck, his itinerary can be followed, and when he makes a discovery he barks incessantly.

Finally, dogs are used to drag mitrailleuses and munitions. Without referring to what is now occurring in France, we may add that the French have employed a similar organization in Morocco, where Gen. Lyavtey last year made use of thirty draft dogs in an expedition.

## THE LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

PROFESSOR GRANT SHOWERMAN, of the University of Wisconsin, offers a thoughtful discussion in the *Popular Science Monthly*, on "The Liberal Arts and Scientific Management." He holds that it is a mistake to attempt to manage scientifically the professors of the liberal arts in our colleges and universities, because the force that keeps them at their work is not an external arrangement of educational trade-unionism, but something incalculable, an inward compelling, an urge, that scientific management will rob of its freedom and of its spiritual effectiveness.

He considers the college professor's work in three aspects: First, the classroom aspect. The average professor spends as much time in classroom and office as the average clerk in the employ of a corporation or the State. But actually his task can never be out of his mind; his pleasures, pastimes, exercise, travel, reading,—everything,—must go to replenish his mental reservoirs and his power to inspire, for the outpouring in the lecture and the recitation periods. The best way to promote his welfare and the welfare of those he serves is to give him liberty to follow his own bent.

Also it should not be forgotten by efficiency experts, that "the college professor and his work represent an all-important principle in scientific management. Congeniality of task is the great factor of industrial economy."

It would be a sorry event for liberal education—and for technical education too—if the principles of scientific management were really applied; if the professor's preparation were formally prescribed, if hours were fixed and tasks made absolutely definite, if promotions and salaries were determined as in the business world, and all the worldly ways of inspection, stimulation, and compulsion were introduced. There is already too much talk of this—too much talk of "units" of the "instructional force" and the "educational plant," of "efficiency" and "output," of "investment" and "returns."

The second aspect in which the college professor is freely criticised is that in which he appears in large and wealthy institutions where he appears to have a modicum of leisure and a minimum of labor. The public is astounded and scandalized to discover that some professors have only six teaching hours a week. And yet, writes Professor Showerman, the explanation is so easy. The

university professor has many administrative duties; he has the oversight of instructors and the expenditure of large sums for books and apparatus; he is a supervisor of the working machinery of a part of his instruction as well as a teacher.

The third aspect is the consideration of the college professor as an interpreter:

He receives, transforms, and transmits. If he is a professor of science, he interprets the world of nature. If he is a professor of art, he interprets the ideals of beauty. Without his services, art and science would be to the general run of mankind "a mere arrangement of colors, or a rough footway where they may well break their shins"—to use a phrase from Stevenson.

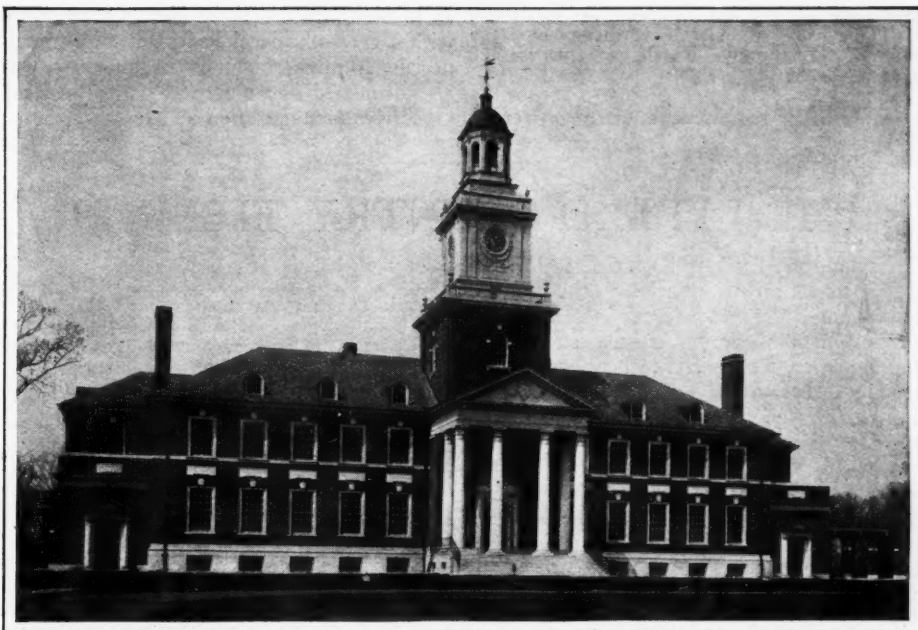
And the professor of liberal arts is not an interpreter only. He is an apostle. There is an intellectual life, as there is a spiritual, to enter which ye must be born again. The professor is the priest of life. . . . Outwardly he is concerned with concrete instruction; in reality he is much more concerned with the quickening of the mind. If at any time inspiration fails him . . . the tongues of men and angels cannot make up for it.

Add to interpretation, dissemination, and inspiration, the duty of discovery. The college professor's function includes not only the increase of knowledge in the individual and the elevation of the intellectual standard in the world at large, but the actual advancement of learning. College and professor alike are not for their own campus alone, but for society at large.

All this is concerned with the active side of the liberal-arts professor, in his contribution to society as teacher and scholar. Further than this, there is his contribution of what Professor Showerman calls "Being."

The college professor must be clean-lipped and clean-hearted, honest and honorable. In what calling except the ministry does a single instance of scandal involve immediate dismissal? He must be an example of professional and civic generosity, an example of the workman in love with his work—an example of courtesy of manners and courtesy of mind. His is the one class in America that knows the languages of other peoples and enters into their souls. As a consequence his voice is always for brotherhood and peace.

To apply the dogmas of efficiency to the college professor would be like applying a brake to the forces of idealism. If you compel him to be "doing more," you "compel his being less"; the more "talk of efficiency, the less of service"; therefore the application of scientific management to the liberal arts,—or to any other teaching,—is the most unintelligent of self-contradictions."



From the *Architectural Record*.

GILMAN HALL, THE NEW ACADEMIC BUILDING OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY AT BALTIMORE

## THE NEW HOME OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

AT the installation of President Goodnow, of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, in May last, many graduates and friends of the institution saw for the first time the beginnings of the group of university buildings at Homewood that will, in future years, house the university. Five of the units of the projected university group, including Gilman Hall, the principal building, have been completed. The university expects to be in operation at Homewood in the fall of the current year. In the May number of the *Architectural Record* (New York), Mr. John Martin Hammond suggests in outline some of the architectural problems related to the development of the new site and shows how these have been met.

At the present the university is in the business center of Baltimore. The new site is about two miles due north of the old, within the city limits, and consists of 150 acres of beautiful rolling land, containing many fine forest trees. The old Carroll mansion, an excellent specimen of the Georgian period, was standing on a portion of the estate when

the university authorities acquired it. The design of this building, which had itself been known as Homewood, was adopted by the university architects as the structural motif of the university's own building plans, and may be seen developed to-day in the academic building, Gilman Hall, which was dedicated on the occasion of President Goodnow's inauguration. The advantages of the Georgian for a university group of buildings, as conceived by the university authorities and advisory architects, are summed up as follows:

It is beautiful, it is dignified and restful; it lends itself well to combination with other buildings of the same character; it gives square rooms and no loss of floor space; it provides for ventilation and lighting; and, last of all, it is cheap and durable from the standpoint of construction.

The proportions and decoration of Homewood,—the building,—were carefully studied and preserved as far as possible in the plans of the new buildings, the proportion of window space to floor space only being changed so as to give ample light. The windows of the new buildings of Hopkins bear a constant relation to the floor space of one to six. So carefully have the interesting exterior features of Homewood,—the building,—

been preserved that the main entrance of Gilman Hall, the principal building of the group, is an enlarged version drawn to scale of the portico and entrance to the old home.

The farther requirements of the university

as to buildings are to be met in accordance with a carefully developed plan. The Engineering Building, of similar architecture, was also dedicated in connection with President Goodnow's inauguration in May.

## THE LITTLE COUNTRY THEATER

IN the June REVIEW an article in this department called attention to the progress of the non-commercial drama in New York. A movement of similar possibilities, springing, however, from social rather than artistic demands, has already made some headway in the Middle West. One of the fundamental needs of the people in such a State as North Dakota, where seventy-two per cent of the population live in unincorporated territory and an equivalent proportion are either foreign-born or of foreign descent, is clearly set forth in the second number of the *Immigrants in America Review*, by Alfred G. Arvold.

In many respects, says this writer, North Dakota is not unlike other States. People there are actually hungry for social recreation. Social stagnancy is a characteristic trait of the small town and the country. The problem is to help the inhabitants of the small towns and the country to find their true expression in the community. Mr. Arvold wisely holds, however, that, while the impulse to this social invasion of the country may come from without, the country people themselves must work out their own civilization.

The idea of the Little Country Theater, as conceived at the North Dakota Agricultural College at Fargo, seems to have met one of the crying social needs of its community. This is Mr. Arvold's description of the playhouse utilized to embody the Little Country Theater idea at Fargo:

In appearance it is most fascinating. It is a large playhouse put under a reducing glass. It is just the size of an average country town hall. It has a seating capacity of two hundred. The stage is thirty feet in width, twenty feet in depth, having a proscenium opening of ten feet in height and fifteen feet in width. There are no boxes and balconies. The decorations are plain and simple. The color scheme is green and gold, the gold predominating. The eight large windows are hung with tasteful green draperies. The curtain is a tree-shade velour. The birch-stained seats are broad and not crowded together. There is a place for a moving-picture machine. The scenery is simple and painted in plain colors. Anybody in a country town can make a set like it. It has the Belasco realism about it. The doors are wooden

doors, the windows have real glass in them. Simplicity is the keynote of the theater. It is an example of what can be done with hundreds of village halls, unused portions of schoolhouses, and the basements of country churches in communities. One of the unique features in connection with The Little Country Theater is the Coffee Tower. It is just to the right of the lower end of the stage. It, too, is plain and simple. Its function is purely social. After a play or program has been presented the friends of the Thespians are cordially invited to the Coffee Tower and served with cakes and coffee. Everything possible is done to encourage and cement the bonds of friendship.

All over the State the people of the farming communities are encouraged to produce such plays as can be easily staged in a country school, the basement of a country church, the sitting-room of a farm home, the village or town hall, or any place where people assemble for social betterment. The principal function of the Little Country Theater is to stimulate an interest for good, clean drama among the people living in the open country and villages, and thus to use the drama as a sociological force in getting people together.

Mr. Arvold mentions one group of young people from various sections of the State representing five different nationalities,—Scotch, Irish, English, Norwegian, and Swedish. He successfully staged "The Fatal Message," a one-act comedy by John Kendrick Bangs. Another cast of characters from the country presented "Cherry Tree Farm," an English comedy, in a most acceptable manner. In order to depict Russian life a dramatic club at the Agricultural College gave "A Russian Honeymoon." A tableau entitled "A Farm Home Scene in Iceland Thirty Years Ago" was staged by twenty young men and women of Icelandic descent, whose homes are in the country districts of North Dakota. The effect of this tableau was to incite other young people of foreign descent to present scenes depicting the national life of their fathers and mothers.

In North Dakota at present from 1500 to 2000 people are taking part in home-talent plays, due primarily to the influence of the Little Country Theater.



From the *Scientific American*.

CELILLO CANAL, OREGON, CROSSING THE SAND BELT, IS LINED WITH CONCRETE REINFORCED BY STEEL.

## IDAHO'S WATER ROUTE TO THE SEA

THE largest lock canal in the West, recently completed by the Federal Government on the Oregon side of the Columbia River just above the Dalles, makes that river navigable continuously for 500 miles from the Pacific Ocean. This Celilo Canal, as it is known, eight and one-half miles in length, and constructed at a cost of about \$5,000,000, is described by Fred W. Vincent in the *Scientific American* for May 22.

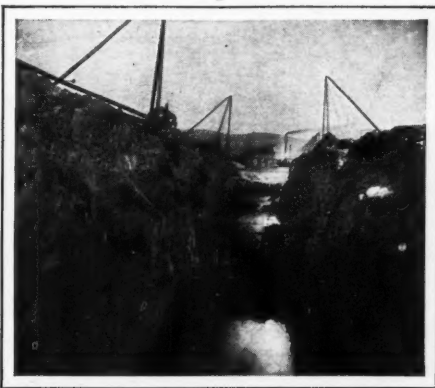
The construction work began in 1906 and went on with little interruption until the canal was finally opened to traffic on May 5 of this year. Vessels of the river stern-wheel type can now navigate from

the Pacific Ocean to Lewiston, Idaho, the head of navigation on the Snake River.

For about five miles of its length the canal had to be cut through solid rock, and

in some cases it was necessary to make cuts seventy feet deep. The Columbia has a drop of ninety feet in eight miles where it passes through the Cascade Range.

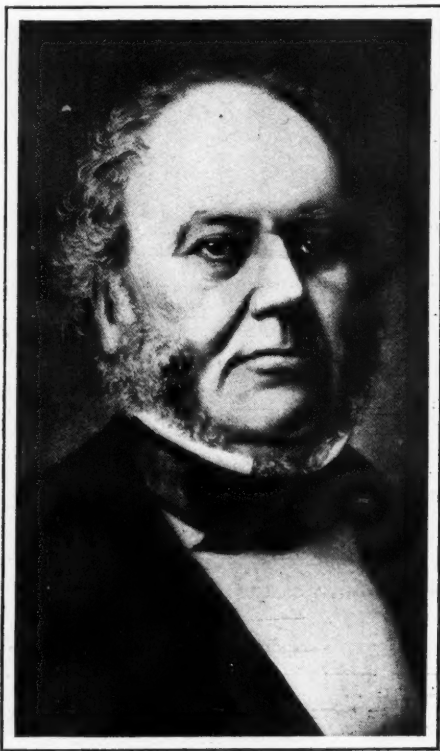
After a series of falls and rapids it is compelled to traverse a channel only 165 feet wide for three miles, while its normal width is almost a mile. Through this narrow crack the boiling current is 200 feet deep. Both shores are made up of lava, a solidified stream that in centuries past flowed across the wide valley and dammed the mighty river. When the engineers surveyed the site they found what was not rock was shifting sand. The rock question was merely a matter of dynamite and the sand and gravel question was settled by lining the canal with concrete reinforced by heavy steel.



SEVENTY-FOOT CUT THROUGH SOLID LAVA

The minimum depth of water is eight feet and the ordinary width of the canal is forty-five feet. Each of the five locks is 300 feet in length.

## FIVE PAN-AMERICAN BUILDERS



WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, STEAMSHIP AND RAILROAD PROMOTER IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE May number of the *Pan-American Bulletin* (Washington, D. C.) sketches the careers of five natives of the United States, who, in their day, built up important business interests in Central and South America. This list of Pan-American builders is headed by the name of William Wheelwright, the Massachusetts shipmaster, who, after having been wrecked in the waters of the La Plata River, migrated from Argentina to Chile, and, in the course of years, took an active part in commercial development along the west coast of South America.

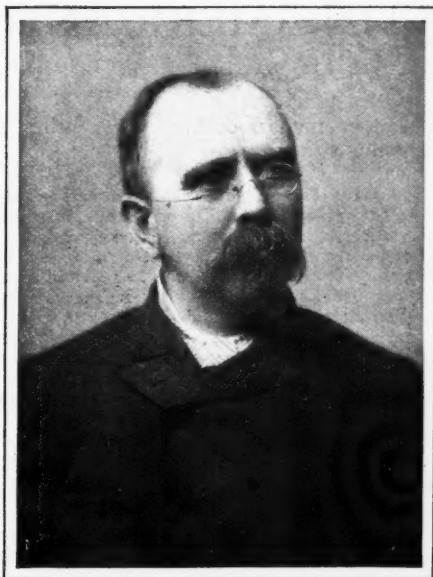
Failing to interest capital in the United States, Captain Wheelwright went to England and organized a million-dollar corporation, known as the Pacific Steamship Navigation Company, which built two steamships, the *Chile* and the *Peru*, the first steam-propelled vessels to navigate the waters of the South American west coast. That was in 1840, and Captain Wheelwright next turned his attention to railroad-building. It was he who gave to South America its first fifty

miles of railway,—from the Chilean port of Caldera to mines in the Andes at Copiao. Later he built 246 miles of railway in Argentina from Rosario to Cordova. This road was opened in 1870, and Captain Wheelwright's next venture was the construction of a line from Buenos Aires to La Plata,—this road being completed just fifty years from the date when Wheelwright and his companions had been wrecked near the spot where the road terminates.

In 1854 Henry Meiggs, who had been a man of wealth in California, became a bankrupt and sailed to Australia and later to Chile. He there raised capital, and in 1861 took charge of the building of a railway from Valparaiso to Santiago, a distance of ninety miles. The engineering feats required in the building of this road are even to-day regarded as marvels of skill in railroad construction. Transferring his activities from Chile to Peru, Meiggs became the leading spirit in building a railroad to the Amazon region. Before his death in 1877 this road had been built for eighty-seven of the 136 miles from Callao to Oroya. The building of this mountain road is still regarded as one of the remarkable engineering feats of all time. Its highest point is 15,645 feet above sea level. Before his death Meiggs had paid off the indebtedness contracted in San Francisco twenty years before.



HENRY MEIGGS, RAILROAD BUILDER IN PERU AND CHILE



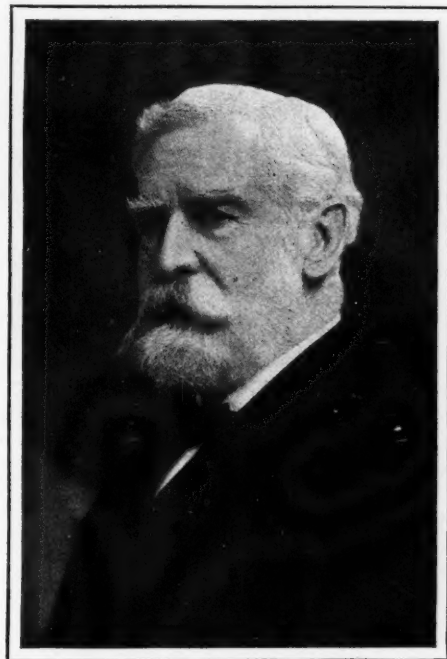
WILLIAM R. GRACE

The well-known New York merchant, William H. Aspinwall, was one of six North American financiers to furnish capital for building the much-needed railroad of forty-seven miles across the Isthmus of Panama, at the time of the California gold discoveries. Mr. Aspinwall was also active in organizing the Pacific Mail Steamship line, and these two enterprises were vitally important in

WILLIAM H. ASPINWALL, THE PANAMA RAILROAD  
PROMOTER

the peopling of the Pacific Coast and the development of the State of California.

Colonel George E. Church, the engineer, spent ten years, after the close of our Civil War, in visiting practically all the countries of South America, stopping at Uruguay long enough to start several important engineering works. The railroad around the falls of the Madeira, which was completed as recently as September, 1912, was a conception of Colonel Church, and he was later engaged in railroad-building in Costa Rica. He was the author of several works based on his explorations in the jungle.



COL. GEORGE E. CHURCH

It is said that William R. Grace, of New York City, probably did more in his lifetime than any other North American individual to develop commerce between the countries of the Americas. He established lines of sailing vessels and steamships which are engaged in exchanging the raw products of South America for the manufactured goods of the United States. The Grace establishments or agencies are found in the leading business centers of the South American west coast, as well as in the cities of the United States, while Grace's steamships are known in all the ports of the Americas, Atlantic and Pacific.

## TWO CLEVER LATIN-AMERICAN ILLUSTRATORS



"THE PROCESSION," BY THE MEXICAN ARTIST, MONTENEGRO

in a recent number of *Emporium*, writes of them thus:

Both have executed and exhibited various pictures not without value for a certain agreeable chromatic quality: the former, portraits and decorative panels; the second, portraits and landscapes. I consider that the work of the 29-year-old artist is much better, displaying more elegance of personality, a maturer conception, and greater security in methods of esthetic development, than that of the twenty-year-old Lopez-Naguil, rather crudely and caustically malicious, and not yet free from the ignorance and uncertainty more than natural in a beginner. . . .

The talents of Montenegro were evinced very early, and he spent three years studying in Paris, on a pension supplied by the government of his country. His skill was further developed in the two years 1913 and 1914, during which, on his return from Mexico, he wandered from Spain to France and from France to Italy. His work was promptly acclaimed by critics and connoisseurs as having interest and charm, as is attested by the fact that some of his paintings and studies in black and white were accepted and hung at the Salon National des Beaux-Arts, the Salon d'Automne, and the Salon des

WE are not accustomed to look for new artists to Central and South America. The names Mexico and the Argentine connote ideas very different from those connected with the brilliant palette and the clever pencil.

It is particularly piquant, therefore, to pick up a prominent Italian magazine of art and find under the title, "Two Young American Illustrators," an article warmly praising the work of Robert Montenegro, of Mexico, and Lopez-Naguil, of the Argentine. The former was born in Guadalajara, in 1885; the latter in Buenos Aires, some twenty-one years ago. Both studied in Europe, and it was there that they formed a very affectionate and fraternal friendship. Both are obviously much attracted by and influenced by Spanish traditions in letters and in art. Both display a strong feeling for the decorative and for elaborate and even intricate detail, but the work of Montenegro is naturally far more finished and mature than that of his very youthful friend from the far south.

The well-known art critic, Vittorio Pica,



PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHESA LUISA CASATI-STAMPA, BY MONTENEGRO

Humoristes in Paris, at the exhibit of the Fine Art Society of London, and at the international exposition of drawings and etchings at Faenza.

He also published an album in Paris whose preface bore no less a signature than that of the "clever and delightful poet and novelist," Henri de Regnier. Another album, executed in honor of the famous Russian dancer Nijinski, was published by the London house of Beaumont. The delightful pictures accompanying the article in *Emporium* were done at Venice last summer. We publish two. In the one called "The Procession," all the fragrance of Spain breathes from the comb, the mantilla, the rose, and the fan of the high-born *doña* in the foreground, whose air is so subtly compounded of the demurely modest and the delicately supercilious, with a dash of challenging coquetry. The composition is admirable, and the sombre figures of the black-cowled monks clutching tall white candles form an effective contrast to the principal figure.

The second illustration is a portrait of the well-known Marchesa Luisa Casati-Stampa, portrayed in Persian costume. The striking personality of the sitter, the gorgeousness of her attire, and the sumptuous richness of the accessories give the artist admirable opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar gifts. Of this the critic speaks as follows:

He has so well succeeded in uniting the effectively expressive and the elegantly decorative in a recent portrait of the Marchesa Luisa Casati-Stampa, dressed in a rich Persian costume, that is worthy of the honor of being placed beside the other glorious images which have been made on canvas, on paper, or in wax by Boldini and Bakst, Martini and Troubetzkoy, of the alert and supple figure, the refined, aristocratic grace, of this intellectual Lombard gentlewoman.

Mr. Pica remarks further that in all of Montenegro's illustrations a literary influence is revealed. The artists who have most influenced him are Goya and Beardsley, so widely separated in country and era. While youth, beauty, and joy chiefly inspire his facile pencil, he has moods in which he delights in depicting the tragic, the dreadful, and the *macabre*. Thus he seems to revel in his illustrations of Oscar Wilde's "Salomé," and portrays St. Sebastian with gusto. He is also attracted toward symbolism, as in his figure of *Chastity*. Undoubtedly his future career will be well worth watching.

\* \* \*

The work of Gregorio Lopez-Naguil



DON QUIXOTE, AS REPRESENTED BY THE ARGENTINE PAINTER, GREGORIO LOPEZ-NAGUIL

shows as yet, perhaps, less of achievement than of promise. But of the latter there is so much that he received the compliment of being asked to exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition in California. Born of a Spanish father and a French mother, he was sent to Barcelona "where, for two years, he studied under the intelligent and affectionate guidance of the Catalan painter, Francisco Galli." He was much impressed, during a trip through the northern part of Spain, by the fine mountain scenery and the picturesque costumes of the natives, and the experience inspired his first four landscapes. He then went to Paris to stay for some years, later visiting the Balearic Isles and Northern Italy. His exhibited work includes three portraits of women shown in Paris, in 1913, at the Autumn Salon, and three marines of Majorca at the annual exhibitions of Buenos Aires, in 1913 and 1914.

All are the somewhat faulty and uncertain works of a beginner, but full of talent and of promise for his artistic future . . . but were censured with acrimony by the omnipotent journalistic critics, who fortunately, however, did not succeed in depriving him of the honor,—a brilliant one for a youth of twenty,—of being invited to participate in the great international exposition at San Francisco.

His most striking illustrations are those of Don Quixote, done *con amore*, during several months spent in Venice with his friend Montenegro.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## STUDIES OF VARIOUS PEOPLES

FEW Frenchmen have shown as great interest in the current social and political problems of America as the Baron D'Estournelles de Constant. He has in recent years traveled much, observed keenly, and made notes industriously and with rare sympathy. His book was finished for French readers just before the war began last year, and it now appears in an English translation, revised since the outbreak of the war.<sup>1</sup> It is all the better for not being systematic, but made up rather of notes, jottings, and reflections. The first chapter takes the reader from New York, by way of Washington, to Texas and the Mexican border. The second deals with our Mexican relations, the third with California, the fourth with women in the United States apropos of some Western experiences. Then come chapters that range back from Seattle to Salt Lake City and Colorado, that discuss the Japanese question, that deal with the cities and States of the Mississippi Valley,—all these chapters being delightfully lacking in form, and full of allusions,—personal, local, and historical. So ends the first part of the book. The second part deals with the problems of the country, one chapter on "the idealistic movement" having much to do with education, philanthropy, and the care of children, while the final chapter, on "America's Duty," is sharply critical of all tendencies towards any increase of the American navy or of imperialistic ambition. When this distinguished Frenchman tells us what he feels about American life, he is well worth while. When he discusses our governmental policies, he is also worth reading, but he takes strong sides in controverted matters without seeming in all cases to be perfectly informed. Of many books recently written by foreigners about the United States, this must rank with the very foremost in importance.

Two little books about Belgium have recently come from the press,—Mr. R. C. K. Ensor's volume in the Home University Library,<sup>2</sup> which characterizes both land and people, and gives, at the same time, the essential facts of Belgian history, politics, and parties, and "The Belgians at Home,"<sup>3</sup> by Clive Holland, which is an abridgment of a larger work with the same title which appeared four years ago. This latter volume is more concerned with the modern nation, giving only so much historical allusion as is necessary for an intelligent description of Belgium's ancient cities. Both books are enlightening and helpful, each in its own way.

John Hubback's volume on "Russian Realities"<sup>4</sup> contains impressions gathered during recent journeys in Russia, the keynote of which is embodied

in its title-page quotation from Mr. W. T. Stead: "Russia is a real country, governed by real people with a real desire for progress." The information thus acquired at first hand by Mr. Hubback antedated the outbreak of the war and for that reason is, perhaps, the more valuable, since it embodies more accurately the spirit of the nation in its natural and undisturbed progress.

Another useful contribution to our knowledge of the Czar's domain is Dr. Leo Wiener's "Interpretation of the Russian People,"<sup>5</sup>—a book written for the direct purpose of picturing for the American and English reader those characteristics of modern Russia which, in the author's opinion, are most important and essential to an understanding of national ideals. Dr. Wiener is professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Harvard, and his studies are serious and valuable.

"The Human German,"<sup>6</sup> by Edward Edgeworth, is a book that meets perhaps a more real need at the present moment than ever before in our history, since it brings to the foreground some of those admirable traits of the German people that were in grave danger of being obscured or lost sight of in the battle-smoke that hovers over sea and land. The book is made of light sketches of life in Berlin as it went on before the war. Everything that made life in the German capital interesting to the foreigner is picturesquely set forth. It is a good natural commentary on the human ties that bind together all ranks of German society.

"Jewish Life in Modern Times,"<sup>7</sup> by Israel Cohen, and "The Conquering Jew,"<sup>8</sup> by John Foster Fraser, both undertake to sum up tersely the economic and social life of the Hebrew race today in all civilized lands. Mr. Cohen's book is the more elaborate and detailed of the two, but Mr. Fraser is quite as sweeping in his conclusions, for he, as well as the Jewish author, is convinced that "in all the history of his race the Jew never occupied as commanding a position as he does to-day."

Dr. Charles A. Eastman's little book, "The Indian To-Day,"<sup>9</sup> is a much-needed presentation of the so-called Indian problem from the Red Man's own view-point. Dr. Eastman is the son of a full-blooded Sioux and was born in a tepee near Redwood Falls, Minn., in 1858. The story of his rearing and education has been many times

<sup>1</sup> An Interpretation of the Russian People. By Leo Wiener. McBride, Nast. 248 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>2</sup> The Human German. By Edward Edgeworth. Dutton. 290 pp. \$3.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish Life in Modern Times. By Israel Cohen. Dodd, Mead. 374 pp., ill. \$3.

<sup>4</sup> The Conquering Jew. By John Foster Fraser. Funk & Wagnalls. 304 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> The Indian To-Day. By Charles A. Eastman. Doubleday, Page. 185 pp. 60 cents.

<sup>6</sup> America and Her Problems. By Paul H. B. D'Estournelles de Constant. Macmillan. 545 pp. \$2.

<sup>7</sup> Belgium. By R. C. K. Ensor. Holt. 256 pp. 50 cents.

<sup>8</sup> The Belgians at Home. By Clive Holland. Macmillan. 243 pp. 40 cents.

<sup>9</sup> Russian Realities. By John Hubback. Lane. 271 pp., ill. \$1.50.

told and need not be repeated in this connection, but the important point is that Dr. Eastman, who is to-day one of the foremost representative Indians, knows from personal experience the difficulties against which his race has had to struggle. His discussion of the present and future of the Indian is most interesting.

A little book of travel notes by G. Lowes Dickinson, entitled "Appearances," touches on India,

China, Japan, and America. All these essays are readable and suggestive, and have already appeared either in the *Manchester Guardian*, of England, or in the *English Review*. Mr. Dickinson will be recalled as the author of "Letters of a Chinese Official," which, several years ago, created something of a sensation in this country. The present chapters on America are not likely to make so profound an impression, although they are at least stimulating.

## BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

NO writer of to-day knows his California more thoroughly or to better purpose than does Edwin Markham, the poet. Although a native of Oregon, Mr. Markham went to California with his parents as a five-year-old boy and literally grew up with the State. It was his fortune to know personally many of the leaders in the formative period of the Pacific Coast, and his interest in the development of the community has not lessened with the advancing years. Of the various books concerning the Coast that have been published during the current season, Mr. Markham's "California the Wonderful" is the most comprehensive and attractive, treating, as it does, not only of the romantic history of the State, the picturesque features of her people, the scenic glories of her mountains, and other aspects of the subject that would naturally appeal to a man of Mr. Markham's temperament and vision, but also of the more prosaic side of the State's development—her mineral and horticultural resources, the growth of her great cities, and other phases of her political and economic history.

"The Beauties of the State of Washington" is the title of a pamphlet for tourists compiled and published by the State Bureau of Statistics and Immigration, under the direction of Harry F. Giles, Deputy Commissioner. Excellent representative views of mountain scenery and other natural features of the State are presented and the book is accompanied by a new map of Washington showing all the State highways and principal county roads.

Mr. Edward Hutton's volume on "Naples and Southern Italy," while less closely related to war scenes than some other books of the month, has a timely interest of its own in view of the participation of Italy in the great conflict, and the possibility that war's ravages may extend even to some of the regions described in this tranquil volume. Tourists will find in Mr. Hutton's chapters thoroughgoing descriptions of many important landscape features.

Those of us who cannot become quite reconciled to the title of Dr. Aughinbaugh's book,—"Selling Latin America,"—will at least recognize the timeliness and value of the material that the author has put between the covers of his vol-

ume,<sup>5</sup> for he is dealing with one of the great industrial problems of our time,—the problem of what the United States is to sell to the Latin-American countries to the south of us and how it is to be sold. Very little definite or authoritative instruction on these topics has heretofore been put in print, but here we have the results of eighteen years of practical experience acquired by Dr. Aughinbaugh in selling goods in these very countries, countries which, the publishers tell us, Dr. Aughinbaugh knows "as well as you know your own town." It is worth the American exporter's while to read what can be said on these lines by a man who "knows the people, their habits, their characteristics, and their commercial practises."

Another book, by an American, of intimate personal experience with Latin Americans is "The Young Man's Chances in South and Central America," by William A. Reid. This also is a thoroughly practical volume having to do with specific opportunities for young men in various professions, industries, and commercial undertakings. The foreword is supplied by Director-General Barrett, of the Pan-American Union, and a prefatory note by the Managing Director of the Southern Commercial Congress, under whose auspices the book is published.

Farther afield are two books on Africa that have appeared during the spring months,—*"The Rediscovered Country,"* by Stewart Edward White, and *"Through Central Africa,"* by James Barnes. The former volume is virtually Mr. White's diary of his hunting trip through what he describes as the last virgin hunting-ground in the inhabited part of the world,—*"a field teeming with game, which is as large as that of British East Africa and nearly as accessible and which has never known the sound of a gun."* Mr. White has not only a hunting story to tell, but a narrative of exploration and adventure that is of general interest. Mr. Barnes struck directly across Africa from coast to coast through the Belgian Congo and "on Stanley's trail." His book is copiously illustrated from photographs made by Cherry Kearton.

<sup>4</sup> Naples and Southern Italy. By Edward Hutton. Macmillan. 312 pp., ill. \$3.

<sup>5</sup> Selling Latin America. By W. E. Aughinbaugh. Small, Maynard. 408 pp., ill. \$2.

<sup>6</sup> The Young Man's Chances in South and Central America. By William A. Reid. Washington, D. C.: Southern Commercial Congress. 173 pp.

<sup>7</sup> The Rediscovered Country. By Stewart Edward White. Doubleday, Page. 358 pp., ill. \$2.

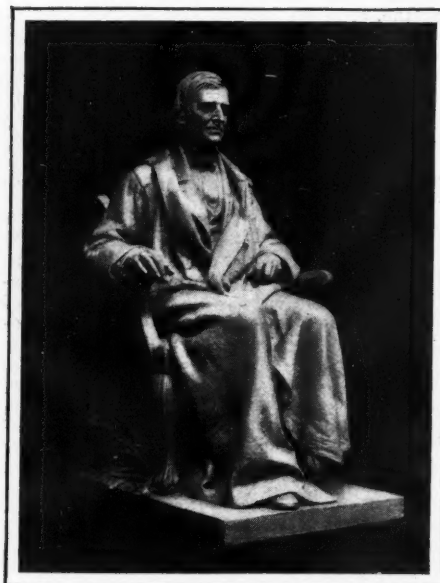
<sup>8</sup> Through Central Africa. By James Barnes. Appleton's. 283 pp., ill. \$4.

<sup>1</sup> Appearances. By G. Lowes Dickinson. Doubleday, Page. 221 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> California the Wonderful. By Edwin Markham. New York: Hearst's International Library Company. 400 pp., ill. \$2.50.

<sup>3</sup> The Beauties of the State of Washington. By Harry F. Giles. Bureau of Statistics and Immigration. 113 pp., ill.

## PHILOSOPHY, PAST AND PRESENT



STATUE OF EMERSON, BY DANIEL C. FRENCH

PROFESSOR OSCAR FIRKINS has retold the life of Emerson, with the addition of material drawn from the Emerson Journals.<sup>1</sup> As no record of Emerson's life could be comprehensive without the use of these intimate jottings that cover the years between 1820 and 1872, Professor Firkins' work is the most valuable to the student of all the biographies of the Sage of Concord. He interprets and reappraises the Emersonian philosophy and shows us it is not outworn. "Where but in Emerson," he asks, "can we find a reverence for the solitary vision which exceeds that of the ascetic or devotee, united with an esteem for the varied palpable, objective fact, which the investigator of the commercialist might recognize as adequate?" He enumerates the conditions under which Emerson considered the maximum of happiness possible. They will apply to any and every age:—"humility, early stoicism, fortitude, release from selfish ambition, eager curiosity, intellectual activity, preoccupation with the inward life," and "concentration in the present as the type of the eternal."

The publication of Dr. Hermann Turck's study, "The Man of Genius,"<sup>2</sup> translated from the sixth German edition by the late Professor Tamson, brings to the English-reading public a brilliant and notable book that embodies the highest conceptions of German idealism. Every page is alive with enthusiasm for humanity's long march toward righteousness, and with love for that which is true and eternal. Dr. Turck cannot find true genius revealed in any personality whose aim has been to destroy rather than to build. Certain inspiring and illuminating chapters delineate Shakespeare's

conception of the nature of genius in Hamlet; Goethe's self-representation in Faust; and the awakening to mental freedom through Christ and Buddha. He classifies Stirner, Ibsen, and Nietzsche under the caption, "The Antisophy of Egoism"; and his estimate of Nietzsche is that he utterly failed to discern either moral, scientific, or esthetic truth. The will of the man of genius is defined after the Aristotelian concept of ethics; it finds activity only in that which must be for the good of all, and "it extends into the region of the unconditioned, the absolute, and the perfect; it strives after the realization of the highest ideal, and therefore feels more strongly the barriers of all that is finite, imperfect, and conditioned."

The chapter on "Habit"<sup>3</sup> from William James' classic two-volume "Psychology" has been printed separately in response to public demand. It is a practical, helpful suggestion as to how to make the definite routine of our lives upbuild the structure of our character and minister to our highest ideals.

Clara Endicott Sears has gathered together all the articles that have appeared from time to time regarding that quaintly interesting and pathetic communistic experiment of the Transcendentalists at Fruitlands.<sup>4</sup> The exact spot chosen by these unworldly enthusiasts was the old Wyman Farm, two miles from the village of Harvard in Massachusetts. Some of the original members of the community were: Bronson Alcott, his wife, and the four Alcott girls; Isaac T. Hecker, of New York; Samuel Larned, of Providence; Anna Page, and Joseph Palmer. Their daily life was modelled upon ideals of Spartan simplicity. No butter, milk, cocoa, tea, coffee, eggs, or meat were permitted to corrupt their daily fare of fruit, grains, vegetables, and pure water. Some of the members adopted a uniform of linen tunics, and each worked as he saw fit and at the task which he preferred. All the members met together at certain hours of the day for spiritual stimulus and intellectual discussion.

The rigors of one New England winter were sufficient to destroy this adventure in perfection. Some of the members went to Brook Farm or joined the Shakers; others wept painfully back into the inharmony of life among the unenlightened masses. There are great failures; Fruitlands was one of them. But the germ nourished in that old farmhouse has infiltrated the foundations of our national existence. The reader of this book will find only tenderness in his heart for the frustrate enthusiasts of Fruitlands. They were right, and their contemners were wrong. But neither the one nor the other perhaps perceived the plane upon which their ideals must irrevocably function,—that of mind and spirit, not that of stubborn and unyielding physical matter.

"The Religion of the Spirit in Modern Life,"<sup>5</sup> by Horatio H. Dresser, presents a philosophical discussion of spiritual matters and endeavors to determine the efficiency of various types of religion and interpret the Divine Presence in universal terms.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson. By Oscar Firkins. Houghton Mifflin. 379 pp. \$1.75.

<sup>2</sup> The Man of Genius. By Hermann Turck. London. A. & C. Black. 483 pp. \$4.

<sup>3</sup> Habit. By William James. Holt. 68 pp. 50 cents.

<sup>4</sup> Fruitlands. By Clara Endicott Sears. Houghton Mifflin. 185 pp. ill. \$1.

<sup>5</sup> The Religion of the Spirit in Modern Life. By Horatio H. Dresser. Putnams. 311 pp. \$1.50.



"FRUITLANDS," THE HOME OF THE ALCOTT TRANSCENDENTALISTS (SEE OPPOSITE PAGE)

## AMERICAN HISTORY

LAST month editorial allusion was made to a remarkable parallel between the problems of American diplomacy in the Napoleonic period and those of the present world war. Those who would understand American international conditions in the earlier period will find it well worth while to read "The Diplomacy of the War of 1812," by Prof. Frank A. Updyke, of Dartmouth College. The volume consists of the "Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History," for the year 1914, at the Johns Hopkins University. Topics dealt with include impressment, neutral trade, war and peace proposals, the negotiations at Ghent, the Indian question and the Canadian boundary, the execution of the Ghent treaty, and the later settlement of controverted questions not included in the Treaty of Ghent. This volume, like a number of its predecessors in the same series, is of striking merit as a contribution to American diplomatic history. A careful index adds much to the value of the book, as is readily shown by a reference to such topics as blockades, boundary controversies, slave trade, and so on.

We shall take a further opportunity to present, with more fullness and detail, the recent developments in the broad task of writing and publishing the history of Iowa that has for some years been going forward at the hands of the State Historical Society. It has taken large wisdom to perceive the value of this work, and fine courage to execute a publishing scheme upon so great a scale. The Iowa State Historical Society has been singularly fortunate in having the services of Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the State University, as the superintendent and editor of its literary projects.

The latest volumes are in the field of institu-

tional history. Thus, in two volumes Mr. Clarence Ray Aurner has presented the history of education in Iowa.<sup>2</sup> He begins with the earliest period, and devotes himself especially to school laws and methods of public support and organization. His work has involved educational as well as historical inquiry and study, and deserves wide recognition as a contribution to the foremost subject of American social action.

Another volume has for its subject social legislation in Iowa, its author being John E. Briggs.<sup>3</sup> It reviews the State's laws and codes from the standpoint of the growing interest in the care and management of particular social classes, such as delinquents and dependents, while also dealing with the State's action in matters relating to the public health, safety, morals, domestic relations, and labor. The subject of poor-relief legislation in Iowa has a volume to itself, the author being Dr. John L. Gillin, now of the State University of Wisconsin.<sup>4</sup> This work has particular value, because it has been performed from the standpoint of a wide comparative knowledge of the subject.

A second volume appears in the series entitled "Applied History."<sup>5</sup> This volume contains ten distinct monographs from the pens of several writers. These deal with such topics as home rule, direct legislation, equal suffrage, appointment and removal of public officials, and child labor. They serve the double purpose of presenting a part of the social history and progress of Iowa, and of contributing to current nation-wide subjects of progress and reform.

<sup>2</sup> History of Education in Iowa. By Clarence R. Aurner. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 2 vols., 905 pp. \$4.

<sup>3</sup> Social Legislation in Iowa. By John E. Briggs. State Historical Society of Iowa. 444 pp. \$2.

<sup>4</sup> Poor-Relief Legislation in Iowa. By John L. Gillin. State Historical Society of Iowa. 404 pp. \$2.

<sup>5</sup> Applied History, Vol. II. State Historical Society of Iowa. 689 pp. \$3.

<sup>1</sup> The Diplomacy of the War of 1812. By Frank A. Updyke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 494 pp., \$2.50.

## MUSIC, ART, AND DRAMA

THE fresh vitality which has been infused latterly into the art of the theater in this country has brought with it a renewed interest in the fine old early English songs. Mr. Frank Hunter Potter has prepared a "Reliquary of English Song"<sup>1</sup> that contains the gems of English melodies from 1250 to 1700. The accompaniments are harmonized and arranged by Charles Vincent and T. Tertius Noble. The introduction and the informative notes are of great value to those who are interested in this type of song. Desdemona's song in "Othello"; "Love Will Find a Way,"—the words as given in Percy's "Reliques,"—"Barbara Allen," "Lilliburlero," and that song of perpetual delight, "Sally in our Alley," are included in this collection.

The Oliver Ditson Company publish in the Musician's Library an "Anthology of German Piano Music," edited by Moritz Moszkowski, and "Sixty Folk Songs of France," arranged for medium voice, edited by Julien Tiersot. The songs are grouped according to their character and an English translation of the words accompanies the French text.

The opera "Carmen" is published with an English version by Charles Fonteyn Manney, and an excellent introductory essay on Bizet and the sources of "Carmen," by Philip Hale.

"Seven Songs from Out-of-Doors,"<sup>2</sup> by Alberta Burton, are for children big and little.

A brilliantly written interpretative book on the modern movement in the theater,<sup>3</sup> by Ludwig Lewisohn, professor in the Ohio State University, gives the reader a survey of the foundations of our new conceptions of drama, French realistic drama, the Naturalistic German plays, the renaissance of English drama, and the Neo-Romantic movement, which includes Maeterlinck and Rostand, Hauptmann, and Hofmannsthal. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and Synge represent the Irish movement. Sixty-two pages are devoted to study-lists and bibliography. The student and the dramatic reader will find this book indispensable.

Barrett Clark writes in the excellent interpretative introduction to his translation of Victorien Sardou's play, "Patrie,"<sup>4</sup> that "Sardou is probably the oftener referred to and the least read of any dramatist of modern times." This translation follows the original text "line for line." Sardou took Flanders for his background,—Flanders under the tyranny of the Spanish Duke of Alba. The Count de Rysoor, a Flemish nobleman and patriot, is plotting to free his country of the tyrant. Dolores, his Spanish wife, becomes involved in an intrigue, and in a fit of passion at her husband's discovery of her faithlessness she gives the Flemish patriots into the hands of the Duke to be burned for treason. Her lover escapes execution by her guilefulness, but in accordance

with his oath, he kills Dolores to avenge his beloved "Patrie." The description of Belgium under the Inquisition might almost be a picture of Belgium to-day,—"entire villages without a soul in them. Smoking ruins everywhere you look. Ruined walls . . . unspeakable horrors." "Patrie" was first performed on March 18, 1869, at the Porte St-Martin Theater, in Paris. This edition of the play is included in the Drama League Series of Plays.

"The Continental Drama of To-Day,"<sup>5</sup> by Barrett Clark, will please the student of dramatic literature. It interprets the plays of Ibsen, Björnson, Strindberg, Tolstoy, Gorky, Tchekoff, Andreyev, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Wedekind, Schnitzler, Hoffmannsthal, Becque, Maeterlinck, Rostand, Brieux, Hervieu, Gascosa, Dormay, Lemaitre, Laedean, D'Annunzio, Echegaray, and Galdos.

"Plays of the Pioneers,"<sup>6</sup> by Constance D'Arcy Mackay, will meet the increasing public demand for pageant plays that are simple of structure, easily costumed, and capable of production with very little rehearsing. They include "The Fountain of Youth," a poetic presentation of Ponce de Leon in Florida; "The Vanishing Race," which presents an Indian scene; "The Passing of Hiawatha"; and "Dame Creel of Portland Town," which develops an incident of the Revolution. Full directions for costuming and for producing out-of-door pageants and plays are included in an appendix.

"The Unveiling,"<sup>7</sup> a poetic drama by Jackson Boyd, gives us a dream that expresses life. Two students of philosophy obtain the statues of the gods Ormazd and Ahriman, and after the ceremony of unveiling, one of the students dreams that they call upon the gods to come to life and tell them the nature of truth. The miracle happens; the gods speak and the lives of the characters of the play work out their destinies under the high spiritual and philosophical guidance of the immortals. Mr. Boyd has produced a splendid reading play that offers in solution an evolutionary, idealistic philosophy, which teaches us to repose "perfect trust in Nature," whose moulding processes lead to eternal peace, truth, and perfection.

"The Studio Year Book of Decorative Art"<sup>8</sup> gives us an unusually fine presentation of the recent developments in the artistic construction, decoration, and furnishing of the house. The department of domestic architecture is of especial timeliness. The chapters on house decoration impress one with the reposeful beauty of the new fittings and designs; and the cuts and color plates of English gardens are lessons in landscape gardening in themselves. A survey of this admirable summary of the year's progress will convince even the most sceptical of the splendid gains we are making in decorative art toward simplicity, fitness, and rhythmic beauty.

<sup>1</sup> Reliquary of English Song. By Frank Hunter Potter. G. Schirmer. 114 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>2</sup> Volumes of Musician's Library. Ditson. Paper. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> Seven Songs from Out-of-Doors. By Alberta Burton. Ditson. \$1.

<sup>4</sup> The Modern Drama. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Huebsch. 340 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> Patrie. By Victorien Sardou. Translated by Barrett Clark. Doubleday, Page. 203 pp. 75 cents.

<sup>6</sup> The Continental Drama of To-Day. By Barrett Clark. Holt. 252 pp. \$1.

<sup>7</sup> Plays of the Pioneers. By Constance D'Arcy Mackay. Harpers. 175 pp. \$1.

<sup>8</sup> The Unveiling. By Jackson Boyd. Putnam. 255 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>9</sup> The Studio Year Book of Decorative Art. Lane. 239 pp., ill. \$2.50.

# ENGLISH LITERATURE,—ESSAYS AND NOVELS

"THE Poets Laureate of England,"<sup>1</sup> their history and their odes, by W. Forbes Gray, follows the lives of the fifteen Poets Laureate, beginning with Ben Jonson and ending with Alfred Austin. This record will prove valuable to all who are interested in English literary history. It is delightfully written and arranged with taste and understanding. Facsimiles of portraits of the various Laureates are used as illustrations.

"A History of English Literature,"<sup>2</sup> by Walter S. Hinchman, Master of English in Groton School, presents the facts of the history of English literature rather than the interpretation of it. The author has kept in mind the needs of the high-school pupil, and has given careful treatment to important figures. The book is beautifully printed and copiously illustrated in color and in black and white. The text is accompanied by maps, literary charts, and in appendix, literary forms, English verse, and general bibliography.

"The English Essay and Essayists"<sup>3</sup> begins the history of the essay in the year 1597, when Bacon published the "first genuine English essays." The author, Hugh Walker, Professor of English in St. David's College, Lampeter, has given to this volume his deep scholarship, and chosen a fluent, easy style for the presentation of his material. The chapter on "Character Writers," the tribute to Hazlett, the deft analysis of Lamb, the searching study of the "Transition from the 18th Century," and the critical study of the "Historian-Essayists," are among the rich contributions of this scholarly book to the wide field of English literature. Five chapters are devoted to the Nineteenth Century and the "Essays of Yesterday," which brings us down to the Neo-Celtic Revival,—to men such as Kenneth Grahame, the late Richard Middleton, and John M. Synge.

"Modern Essays,"<sup>4</sup> selected and edited by John M. Berdan, John R. Schultz, and Hewette E. Joyce, has been compiled to meet the need of a volume of literary illustrations to accompany the teaching of the principles of exposition. Frederic Harrison, Wu Ting-fang, G. K. Chesterton, ex-President Taft, Arnold Bennett, Jane Addams, Richard Burton, and John Galsworthy are names to be found in the list of the authors of this admirable collection. Short biographical accounts are given in the index.

One may search vainly through the pages of Richard Le Gallienne's new book of essays, "Vanishing Roads,"<sup>5</sup> for the touch of the hand that wrote his earlier work. Only in "The Haunted Restaurant," does one find a partial reversion to his former method and discover, by contrast, how greatly his work has deepened and broadened, until it now confronts us with the authenticity of art achieved and of life realized. Not one whit

of style has been surrendered to power; the old delicate whimsicality toys with the winding thread of fate and saves our illusions. The title essay pictures all the vanishing highways of life, and, at the end, life itself, as the great road we must travel with "the running stream of Time for our fellow-wayfarer," until it, too, vanishes around the unknown corner where Death awaits us. Two of the essays are the fruit of Mr. Le Gallienne's re-visiting England after an absence of ten years. One of them records his impressions of "London,—Changing and Unchanged," the other, the delight the returned native finds in the English countryside. We are grateful for the appreciation "On Re-reading Walter Pater." Too many of us have sensed only the "beautiful garment" of Pater's style and failed to glimpse even faintly the spirit of fire and dreams upon which Pater draped his magic vestments. Another essay, "Imperishable Fiction," shows us worthy fiction as the result of imperturbable living,—the record of slow time. A study in contrasts, "The Bible and the Butterfly," closes a volume that will meet instant appreciation.

Canon Sheehan's powerful novel, "The Graves at Kilmorna,"<sup>6</sup> a story of the Fenians, gives us a splendid chapter out of the history of Ireland's futile heroisms. It shows us that Irish patriotism must necessarily have always differed from other patriotism, in that it existed in the old days as conceived by a "people of flocks and herds," who were vitally concerned only with that which affected the land. With this view of Irish patriotism in mind, this poignant tale of the Fenian rebellion of 1867 lifts some misconceptions from the lives and deeds of those leaders who threw their lives away in a mad effort to wrest Ireland from England. Broadly speaking, Canon Sheehan's book is a preaching to the Ireland of to-day,—a warning to those who would build up Ireland under Home Rule, that "a nation is great or little according to the genius and the character of its people . . . that if people are sordid and base and have sacrificed that first essential of freedom, individual independence, no merely material success can compensate for such national apostasy."

"The Rat-Pit,"<sup>7</sup> is the name of a novel by Patrick MacGill; the real "Rat-Pit" is a sordid lodging-house for women in Glasgow,—a mean last refuge for the female derelicts of a teeming city. To this cage of heterogeneous human misery, following divers paths of poverty and hardships, comes pretty Norah Ryan, a peasant girl from the rugged coast of Donegal. The great purity that dwells in the heart of Irish womanhood dignifies even the most evil necessities of Norah's life, and one turns the last page of her chronicle with the strong determination to go out in the highways and byways and make the world a better place for other "Norahs." The chapter that describes the journey of the Donegal women to get work is a fine piece of realism. Mr. MacGill is also the author of "Children of Dead End."

<sup>1</sup> The Poets Laureate of England. By W. Forbes Gray. Dutton. 315 pp. \$2.50.

<sup>2</sup> A History of English Literature. By W. S. Hinchman. Century. 455 pp. \$1.30.

<sup>3</sup> The English Essay and Essayists. By Hugh Walker. Dutton. 343 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Essays. Berdan-Schultz-Joyce. Macmillan. 448 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>5</sup> Vanishing Roads. By Richard Le Gallienne. Putnam. 377 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>6</sup> The Graves at Kilmorna. By Canon Sheehan. Longmans. 373 pp. \$1.35.

<sup>7</sup> The Rat-Pit. By Patrick MacGill. Doran. 320 pp. \$1.25.

# CLASSIFIED LISTS OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## Books Relating to the War

**The Great War: The Second Phase.** By Frank H. Simonds. Kennerley. 284 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Simonds, whose story of the great war is appearing from month to month in this REVIEW and who has taken his place as the foremost American commentator on the military and geographical aspects of the great conflict, has just completed his account of the second phase of the war, from the fall of Antwerp to the second battle of Ypres. While the book traverses much of the same ground covered in the REVIEW articles, a great part of the material is presented in a different form. It should be remembered that the basis of all of Mr. Simonds' writing, unlike that of many journalists, is a remarkably sound and intimate knowledge of geography and history. If any American is entitled by right of years of study and research to be regarded as an authority on the European war it is Mr. Simonds.

**With the German Armies in the West.** By Sven Hedin. Lane. 402 pp., ill. \$3.50.

This translation of the well-known Swedish explorer's experiences on the German firing-line is the fullest account in English of the doings of the German armies in the West for the first six months of the war. Whatever may be said of Dr. Sven Hedin's anti-English opinions, his personal veracity is unquestioned and no one can doubt for a moment that in this extremely interesting volume he records the facts of the war as he saw them. Many of these facts have never before come to the eyes of English or American readers. He was specially commissioned by the Kaiser to visit and observe the German armies in Belgium and France, and he had exceptional opportunities for seeing what was going on.

**Behind the Scenes in Warring Germany.** By Edward Lyell Fox. McBride, Nast. 333 pp., ill. \$1.50.

Mr. Fox, who has been a special correspondent with the German armies and at Berlin, describes in this volume interesting war scenes on both fronts. One chapter is devoted to "the hero of all Germany, Field-Marshal von Hindenburg." There is also an interesting account of the work carried on by the American Red Cross on the Russian frontier.

**A Month's German Newspapers.** Selected and translated by A. L. Gowans. Stokes. 275 pp. \$1.

A selection of representative extracts from German newspapers of December, 1914, translated by Mr. Gowans with a view to giving English readers the viewpoint of "those who are at present our enemies." Among the topics covered by these newspaper extracts are the war session of the German Reichstag, the Scarborough raid, and the battle at Falkland Islands.

**France in Danger.** By Paul Vergnet. Dutton. 167 pp. \$1.

This is an English translation of a book that was first published in France in October, 1913. It

contains significant warnings to the French people concerning the menace of Pan-Germanism, and a rather remarkable forecast of the great conflict that developed in the following year.

**The Last War: A Study of Things Present and Things to Come.** By Frederick Lynch. Revell. 118 pp. 75 cents.

In the signs of the times, portentous as they are, Dr. Lynch reads a prophecy of international peace, believing that the church throughout the world must ultimately take the ground that "the nations must live under the same ethics that govern individual relationships."

**America Fallen! The Sequel to the European War.** By J. Bernard Walker. Dodd, Mead. 203 pp. 75 cents.

From the war now raging in Europe Mr. Walker, of the *Scientific American*, draws the moral of American unpreparedness, and in this little book he ingeniously works out the military and naval movements that might be reasonably assumed to result in the actual subjugation of the United States.

**The Socialists and the War.** By William English Walling. Holt. 512 pp. \$1.50.

The chief value of this volume lies in the documentary statements that it contains from Socialists of all countries, with special reference to their peace policy. There is a suggestive chapter at the close in which Mr. Walling discusses the revolutionary State Socialist measures already adopted by the belligerent governments. The volume, as a whole, is one of the first expressions in English of the real attitude of the European masses towards the war.

**England or Germany—?** By Frank Harris. New York: The Wilmarth Press. 187 pp. \$1.

In this little book Mr. Harris makes a comparison between England and Germany, as modern states, somewhat to the disadvantage of the former. Himself an American who has lived many years in England, Mr. Harris is convinced that England has fallen behind in the race as regards the chief elements of our modern civilization, while Germany, he contends, has done more for civilization in the last twenty years than any state has ever done before. He has included in his book a suggestive chapter on "The Censorship and Its Effects."

**Problèmes de Politique et Finances de Guerre.** By G. Jèze, J. Barthélemy, G. Rist, and L. Rolland. Paris: Felix Alcan. 227 pp. 3 fr. 50.

This book contains scientific studies of several phases of war finance made at first-hand in France and England within the past few months. American economists interested in the subject will find these studies valuable.

**Bohemia Under Hapsburg Misrule.** Edited by Thomas Capek. Revell. 187 pp. \$1.

This book gives expression to some of the ideals and aspirations of peoples who are hoping for

actual advancement as an outcome of the great war. The Bohemians even speak of having "a place in the sun," and look for the restoration of autonomy to their fatherland. The Slovaks, kinsmen of the Bohemians, numbering between two and three millions and inhabiting the northwestern provinces of Hungary, have kindred aspirations. All these are clearly set forth in this volume which Mr. Thomas Capek has edited, and to which Professors H. A. Miller, Will S. Monroe, Leo Wiener, Emily G. Balch, and Bohumil Simek contribute chapters.

**Studies of the Great War.** By Newell Dwight Hillis. Revell. 272 pp. \$1.20.

The pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., brings together in this volume his discussions of what each of the European powers has at stake in the present conflict, reviewing the growth, development, and industrial standing of each belligerent, and summarizing the aspirations and ideals of each.

**Germany's Isolation.** By Paul Rohrbach. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 186 pp. \$1.

Although the greater part of this book was written before the outbreak of the war, it states in practically complete form the German argument on the economic side. It shows that German economists have long considered the bearing of Germany's relations with England, Russia, and other powers on her economic future, and it is not strange that the conclusions reached by these economists have latterly been urged in justification of Germany's part in the war itself.

**Five Fronts.** By Robert Dunn. Dodd, Mead. 308 pp. \$1.25.

"Five Fronts," by Robert Dunn, correspondent for the *New York Evening Post*, relates his experiences on the firing-line in the retreat from Mons, during the Austrian struggle over Przemyśl and in her campaign in Serbia, with the victorious Germans in Flanders, and during the Russian drive in Bukovina. The author thrusts facts into a literary structure that reminds one of the short stories of Maxim Gorky; he is colorful, intense, impressionistic. One interesting contrast is well brought out, the difference between the mental attitude of the fighting man who had lived several years in America towards the warfare, and that of the European. Those who had been long in America sickened at their enforced task. "War does no good," was their word.

**The World Storm and Beyond.** By Edwin D. Schoonmaker. Century. 294 pp. \$2.

Edwin Davies Schoonmaker, in his latest book, "The World Storm and Beyond," endeavors to interpret the war in its historical perspective and answer certain pertinent questions. Some of the questions are as follows: Has the rôle of Cæsar fallen to the Kaiser or to the Czar? What is ahead of Russia? What lessons in Democracy may we learn from the dominant Slavic race? Has the Church collapsed? Has the war, instead of defeating Socialism, proved its validity? How will the wholesale slaughter of men affect the problems of women? He sees the Germanic struggle as an internal revolution, a "revolt against an antiquated and repressive political system," and more broadly speaking, against the moral

failure of efficiency. He lays at the feet of England the burden of various troubles that have disturbed Europe since the Treaty of San Stefano, and perceives the British Empire in its restriction of the actual land surface of the earth as the real menace to the establishment of coöperating international relationships. Russian oppression he thinks largely due to Russia's Baltic-German officialdom,—to individuals like Count Witte and Plehve.

### Books About Japan and China

**A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era.** By Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi. New York: The Encyclopædia Britannica Company. 784 pp., ill. \$3.50.

This is virtually the first attempt to present in popular form in the English language the whole story of Japan's twenty-five centuries. The author, Captain Brinkley, of the Royal Artillery, lived forty years in Japan and had unusual opportunities for studying the people of the Island Kingdom and their historic background. In the present work he had the collaboration of Baron Kikuchi, former president of the Imperial University. The volume is attractively illustrated.

**America to Japan.** Edited by Lindsay Russell. Putnam. 318 pp. \$1.25.

Recently a group of Japanese statesmen and other leaders of thought united in preparing a volume of information as to conditions in Japan, the ideals of Japanese leaders, and the state of public opinion in regard to the maintenance of peaceful relations with the United States. That book, entitled "Japan to America," now has a companion volume, "America to Japan," made up of contributions from representative citizens of the United States on the relations between the two peoples and special topics of interest to both. The two volumes together constitute a remarkable expression of international opinion.

**The Re-Making of China.** By Adolf S. Waley. Dutton. 93 pp. \$1.

In this little book the recent history of China is related from the point of view of internal disintegration rather than Western influence in the direction of republicanism. The author shows intimate acquaintance with the facts of the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty.

### History

**Tabular View of Universal History.** Compiled by George Palmer Putnam and George Haven Putnam. Putnam. 415 pp., maps. \$2.50.

This chronological conspectus of history arranges noteworthy events in parallel columns, somewhat after the system followed in the "Epitome of Universal History," by Ploetz, which is much used by historical scholars. The present work was begun as long ago as 1832 under the title of "The World's Progress," and was successively revised during the lifetime of its author. Mr. George Haven Putnam, son of the original compiler, has taken the historical tables employed in "The World's Progress" and brought them up to date, thus making a convenient presentation of essential dates and facts.

**The Rise of the Dutch Kingdom, 1795-1813.** By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Doubleday, Page. 279 pp., ill. \$2.50.

This book recounts the degradation of Holland under Napoleon and her restoration as a constitutional monarchy to something like her former prestige as one of the great maritime powers of the world. The story is vividly narrated and the work, as a whole, forms a fitting sequel to the author's "Fall of the Dutch Republic."

**Military Annals of Greece.** 2 Vols. By William L. Snyder. Badger. 692 pp. \$3.

It is said that Mr. Snyder is the only American author of a history of Greece, with the exception of school text-books. Another of his claims to distinction is his acceptance of the truthfulness of Herodotus as a historian. His book is not strictly confined to military history, but considerable space is given to literary and archeological discussions, one chapter being devoted to a comparison of the Homeric poems and the poetry of the Old Testament.

**Flags of the World, Past and Present.** By W. J. Gordon. Warne. 256 pp., ill. \$2.25.

Although written from the English view-point, the information gathered in this volume comes from every important nation, and there seems to be no insular bias in the method by which the facts are presented.

**The British Navy: Its Making and Meaning.** By Ernest Protheroe. Dutton. 694 pp., ill. \$2.50.

An enthusiastic account of the rise of British sea power which should be especially welcome at this time to the British Admiralty in its efforts to popularize the naval service.

**A History of the Civil War in the United States.** By Vernon Blythe. Neale. 411 pp., maps. \$2.

One of the comparatively few Civil War histories that have been written from the Southern standpoint. The author is the son of a Confederate soldier, but acquired his education chiefly in the North and has lived many years in both the North and West. His endeavor has been to write a non-partisan history of the war, and he has at least succeeded in eliminating sectional prejudice.

**Who Built the Panama Canal?** By W. Leon Pepperman. Dutton. 419 pp., ill. \$2.

The title of this book is a fair question and it is fairly and fully answered by a man who was closely associated with the work of the Second Isthmian Commission and thus had intimate knowledge of the foundation labors in the Canal Zone of Theodore P. Shonts, John F. Stevens, William C. Gorgas, and others. This pioneer stage in the canal history has been characterized as the railroad régime to distinguish it from the army administration of Colonel Goethals. And now, while the nation is congratulating itself on the successful completion of this great work, under the leadership of an army engineer, it is well to remember that the scheme was laid out and its success made possible by representative railroad men.

**The State Reservation at Niagara: A History.** By Charles M. Dow. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company. 202 pp.

The author of this work is the one citizen of the State of New York who from the very beginning has been closely associated with the movement to create and beautify the State Reservation of Niagara. This movement, after many years of more or less uncertain progress, has at last resulted in excluding from Niagara Falls the sordid commercial influences that once ruled there. The State Reservation is now a beautiful and well-administered park, in every way a credit to the Empire State. Mr. Dow has been for more than a decade the president of the Commission.

**The Revolutionary Period in Europe, 1763-1815.** By Henry Eldridge Bourne. Century. 494 pp. \$2.50.

Although the French Revolution itself is the central episode treated in this work, the entire period of over half a century from 1763 to 1815 is surveyed, six chapters being given to the old régime, ten to the Revolution, and eleven to the Napoleonic era. Although Europe was desolated by war during one-half of this period, the real theme of this book is not found in the narrative of war or diplomacy, but rather in the great social movement of which war and diplomacy were incidents. The author devotes a special chapter to the industrial revolution.

**Children of France.** By E. Maxtone Graham. Dutton. 318 pp., ill. \$2.

These brief sketches of children of the French Court in the days of the old régime are closely related to the history of France during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and especially to the period of transition including the Revolution itself.

**The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist.** By Annie Heloise Abel. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 394 pp., ill. \$5.

The slave-holding Indians of the Southwest are dealt with in a series of three volumes of which the first has just appeared. The author, Dr. Annie Heloise Abel, calls this first volume "an omitted chapter in the diplomatic history of the Southern Confederacy." The documents cited in this book show that treaties binding the Indian nations in an alliance with the seceded States were negotiated under the authority of the Confederate State Department. The second and third volumes of the series, which are now in preparation, deal respectively with the part taken by the Indians in the Civil War, and later during the reconstruction period.

**The Scotch-Irish in America.** By Henry Jones Ford. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 607 pp. \$2.

In this volume Professor Ford traces the history of the Ulster Plantation and of the influences that formed the character of the members of that community who migrated to America. He then describes the Scotch-Irish settlements in the colonies and their part in the movement for national independence and especially in the building up of the Presbyterian Church. The concluding chapter is a survey and appreciation of Scotch-Irish contributions to American nationality.

**Napoleon's Russian Campaign of 1812.** By Edward Foord. Little, Brown. 424 pp., ill. \$4.

This is believed to be the amplest account of Napoleon's disastrous Russian expedition of 1812 that has thus far appeared in the English language. Official documents, both French and Russian, have been consulted and drawn upon in the preparation of this volume.

### American Classics

**Readings from American Literature.** Compiled by Mary E. Calhoun and Emma L. MacAlarney. Ginn. 635 pp. \$2.40.

The compilers have brought into a single volume a collection of readings covering the whole range of American literature, both prose and poetry, from early colonial times to the present. The selections are presented in strictly chronological order, and the book serves a useful purpose as an auxiliary to text-books of history.

**The Complete Poems of S. Weir Mitchell.** Century. 447 pp. \$2.

A winnowed collection from several volumes of Dr. Mitchell's poems, revised according to his expressed desires; also contains his dramatic work, including the notable play "Drake." The fine poems, "The Comfort of the Hills," "Ode to a Lycian Tomb," and "François Villon," should be known to all lovers of poetry. They take rank with the best of Longfellow and Holmes.

**Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations.** Edited by Clark S. Northup. Houghton, Mifflin. 500 pp. \$3.

Twenty-six of the orations delivered before college chapters of the Phi Beta Kappa, from those of Horace Bushnell and Ralph Waldo Emerson, in 1837, to that of Woodrow Wilson, in 1909, and including addresses by George William Curtis, Wendell Phillips, Charles W. Eliot, Andrew D. White, and Albert Shaw, have been collected and published in an attractive volume of 500 pages. It would be difficult to find elsewhere in like compass so complete an expression of the ripest American thought for two generations.

### Reference Books

**The New International Year Book.** Edited by Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead. 804 pp. \$5.

In the current volume of the New International Year Book, covering the calendar year 1914, the effects of the great war are manifest. For one thing, the stoppage of certain sources of statistical information relative to trade and industry caused articles on those subjects to be less detailed than in former years. A twenty-eight page article on the war itself is contributed by Professor Carlton Hayes.

**Essentials of English Speech and Literature.** By Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls. 408 pp. \$1.50.

Dr. Vizetelly's book answers very clearly and simply the following questions regarding the essentials of English speech and literature: (1) How did the language come into being? (2) Who was responsible for its origin? (3) What

changes have taken place in its orthographical development? (4) To whom is this development due? (5) Through what media has it been attained? (6) What were the refining influences that have affected it? Dr. Vizetelly enriches his argument with numerous pertinent illustrations from English literature and the tendency of his treatment of the subject is to give one a more intelligent appreciation of the beauties of the language as well as a better practical equipment for its use.

**A Guide to Good English.** By Robert Palfrey Utter. Harpers. 203 pp. \$1.20.

A brief manual of composition differing from the ordinary text-books on the subject in its more direct adaptation to the needs of all writers whether in magazine or newspaper offices, or in college classes. It gives needful and common-sense instruction in the preparation of manuscript, in the methods of collecting and organizing material, and in prosody.

### Representative Novels

**A Far Country.** By Winston Churchill. Macmillan. 509 pp. \$1.50.

In his new story Mr. Churchill clearly shows himself an optimist in his view of our national future, although our path has been strewn with the brambles of materialism. We have, as a people, wandered to a far country, like the Prodigal Son, but we have, like him, seen our error. This latest addition to the list of Mr. Churchill's novels is serious in purpose, like its predecessors.

**The Man of Iron.** By Richard Dehan. Stokes. 667 pp. \$1.35.

A novel that spreads before the reader a vast panorama of the period before and during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Bismarck dominates the story. Around him moves the great pageant of history; through him there speaks the ambition and aspiration of Germany and through him you perceive her faults and her virtues. A young Irish war correspondent is the hero, and the heroine is a lovely French girl, Juliette de Bayard. Through her France speaks to Bismarck: "God has made you to be the fate of France . . . you will do what God permits you to do. . . . But rest assured that when next your armies cross the Rhine, they will not gain an easy victory. . . . We shall be prepared and ready, Monseigneur, when the Germans come again."

**The Pretender.** By Robert Service. Dodd, Mead. 349 pp., ill. \$1.35.

A story of Paris. In order to prove his real worth, an author gives us his identity and takes steamer passage to Europe to start over again in the bohemian life of the Latin Quarter of Paris. A piquant and delightful experiment in fiction,—a grown-up fairy tale; an adventure in simplicity.

**Jaffery.** By William J. Locke. Lane. 352 pp., ill. \$1.35.

A characteristic Locke story,—whimsical, improbable, and yet in more than one of its passages compelling, and always bright and graceful in style, diction, and method.

# FINANCIAL NEWS

## I.—MUNICIPAL BONDS

EVERY little while the individual with capital to invest has to decide whether safety of principal or moderate or high yield is the desideratum. A financial panic or a crisis in national affairs immediately brings the question forward. Unfortunately in too many cases we have to deal with commitments already made and then there is involved substitution of securities at some immediate sacrifice of the investment fund, or perhaps the patient nursing along of a purchase that does not recommend itself in times of stress.

The factor of safety just now has, or should have, the primary regard of the investor. All of the tests that may be applied to a bond to determine whether or not it will stand up when others are falling are being employed, and obviously much chaff is being winnowed in the market place. Those investments that have best resisted the general tendency to react since the European war threw the stock exchanges of the world into panic, from which they have well recovered, must for all future time commend themselves to the man or woman who desires first of all to keep principal intact while earning somewhat more on the capital than savings-bank interest provides.

Heading the list of such bonds are the "municipals." Like all bonds, they declined last August and it was sometimes difficult to sell new issues of them in September and October, but the proportion of loss was small when compared with even the best of the railroad or industrial bonds and the recovery more rapid. A list of widely scattered municipals, such as dealers recommended in their circulars of May or June, shows that prices as reckoned in yields are only a little lower than a year ago, whereas the average of other bonds is about five points off.

Whenever values of all descriptions are unsettled it is the security that represents the direct obligations of States, cities, towns, counties, or districts,—any political division, so to speak, or which has back of it the really productive forces of the country, as its farms, to which the careful buyer of bonds turns. Everyone knows something of the commercial depression in the South due to the stop-

page for a time of cotton exports and the very low prices of what was taken up by the domestic markets. Railroad earnings fell away from 20. to 30 per cent.; industrial enterprises in that section passed their dividends and some of them defaulted. The writer has in mind a high-grade first-mortgage railroad bond of a Southern road that declined eight points and a first-mortgage bond of a large manufacturing corporation that dropped nine points. But the cities through which this road runs have all the time been borrowing at lower rates of interest than ever before and their old bonds have been rising.

There are, of course, local or sectional reasons to explain some part of this disparity. So far as the South is concerned, its general credit has been on a rising scale for years and the discarding of old prejudices which had limited the market for its securities has tended to appreciation in values. Defaults are rare, civic pride is increasing, administration is more efficient. The broad grounds on which the municipal bond market is being established and on which it has advanced to its present primary position are worth brief consideration.

Experts differ over the advantage to the municipal market of the institution of a Federal income tax. As applied to the small investor they claim that it makes very little difference, for the paring of income is so small that it would not pay to substitute a municipal for some other bond, values being equal. On the other hand, it is unquestionably true that large capitalists, subject to a surtax, and anticipating higher instead of lower taxes as the years go by, have been freer buyers of municipals than ever before and will continue to invest in them rather than in corporation issues. The railroad scandals of the last five years, and the unexpected defaults on bonds that have always been considered "prime" and were held by trustees, life-insurance companies, banks, and other large investors, has developed an over-caution perhaps, though that is not a bad trait for the guardian of funds to possess. So more and more he has turned to the obligations of communities which are not subject

to losses from competition, over which the Damoclean sword of unfavorable court decisions does not continually hang, and whose taxable real property is always considerably in excess of the bonds outstanding. The standing of the municipal bond is exemplified in the fact that it is acceptable collateral for postal savings-bank loans and under the Aldrich-Vreeland banking act the municipal figured largely as collateral for bank-note circulation.

The *Financial Chronicle* has just tabulated the municipal bond sales of 1914, indicating the purposes to which the \$464,000,000 of bonds authorized last year were put. It is shown that about 31 per cent., or \$146,000,000, were for streets, roads, and bridges; 13 per cent. for schools, 12 per cent. for water, over 1 per cent. for buildings, about 7 per cent. for sewers, nearly  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. for parks, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1 per cent. for light and gas. This is a very sane distribution and displays no unsound political tendencies. In Canada, during the boom years preceding the war, expenditure was somewhat reckless and in certain provinces all sorts of municipal ownership schemes were perpetrated from which communities are now suffering. As a rule, however, the proceeds of municipal bond sales go to elevate the standards of life and apply to the necessities of living and, therefore, they are real and tangible evidences of a higher civilization.

The recent Census Bureau bulletin dealing with county and municipal indebtedness reveals the magnitude of municipal borrowing in the last few decades. The national debt of the United States is, to be sure, a very small one when compared even with the debts of European countries before the costs of war had been superimposed. Three and a half times larger than this debt is that of the political sub-divisions which, from 1902 until 1913, increased their obligations 113 per cent. In the same period the debts of States rose  $44\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and that of the nation only 6 per cent. From 1890 to 1913 the debt of these sub-divisions increased from \$925,989,000 to \$3,475,954,000, that of States from \$211,000,000 to \$345,942,000, and the national debt from \$851,912,000 to \$1,028,000,000.

The per capita debt of the entire country of \$50 in 1913, compared with \$36 in 1902, is mainly due to the enlarged municipal obligations. From another angle the influence of municipal borrowing on financial affairs is indicated. In 1905 the total of government and municipal loans to all issues was 16 per

cent., corporation loans being 84 per cent. of all. In 1914 the figures were, respectively, 40 and 60 per cent.

During 1915 the effect on these figures will be enhanced by the part Canada is playing as a solicitor of funds in the United States when European sources of supply are closed. To date about \$135,000,000 of provincial and municipal bonds have been marketed here. American investors have taken nearly 60 per cent. of all Canadian bonds authorized. In 1910 they bought less than 2 per cent. of the total.

In a commercial sense a municipal bond need not be the obligation of a city or town or its proceeds employed on schools, streets, water, or lighting plants. Irrigation bonds were included under this general head, with some loss of prestige, it must be said, to the class as a whole. The unfortunate ending of several large irrigation projects in Colorado and Montana, whose bonds were legalized by various acts, only serves to increase the caution and to add to the tests of reliability regarding bonds that fall in this general category. A bond that is comparatively new in the East, though it has had vogue and enjoys high standing in the Middle West, in the Southwest, and in parts of the Northwest, is the drainage district issue. This is an instrument for raising capital for the reverse process of irrigation, viz., getting water off the land. The lands from which water is released are usually extremely fertile and their farm value is tremendously enhanced when brought to a cultivable condition. Where the local taxpayers make petition for a "drainage district" and assume the taxes or assessments to meet the costs of drainage and there is no land booming or colonization scheme involved the success of the plan is usually assured and the investment value of the drainage bond not open to question. In Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri bonds of this type have been in good favor for years and through them great addition to the wealth of the State has been produced. The laws surrounding issues of these bonds have been well drawn. The Arkansas law recently enacted has been tested and is regarded as one of the strongest instruments of the sort ever placed on the statute books. Other States where there is just now a great deal of interest in drainage are Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

The return on this class of bonds is from  $5\frac{1}{4}$  to 6 per cent. This compares with income on bonds of municipalities ranging from  $4\frac{1}{4}$  to about 5 per cent. Many of them are

issued in serial form and mature after ten, fifteen, or twenty years. Taxes levied are frequently much in excess of the sums necessary to pay principal and interest. An issue of one Missouri drainage district recently offered in the East was legal for all trust funds in that State as well as for State school and

insurance funds. It is still a debatable question whether some of these bonds on which payment is in the form of periodic assessment are exempt from the Federal income tax. Where doubt has existed, however, it is now believed that they are entitled to this exemption.

## II.—INVESTMENT QUERIES AND ANSWERS

### No. 647. BONDS OR MORTGAGES—WHICH?

I have several thousand dollars to invest, and have been looking for a mortgage on real estate. However, I have not been able to find anything that is satisfactory. Would you suggest waiting for a mortgage, or would you consider bonds? First, I desire safety. I would like  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The way in which you refer to the question of mortgage investment leads us to believe that you have been looking for something local. If you are strongly predisposed toward this type of conservative investment, however, we know of no good reason why you should leave your funds idle until a mortgage to your liking happened to turn up in your immediate neighborhood. There are many reputable and experienced mortgage bankers handling this type of investment from other sections of the country, with whom you could have dealings with perfect assurance of getting your funds placed safely to meet your rather conservative specifications as to yield.

On the other hand, if you already have investments of this type, and if you are entertaining the idea of varying the character of your holdings, you will find it easily possible to obtain sound municipal, railroad, industrial, or public utility bonds to yield from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

### No. 648. A QUESTION OF CORPORATION FINANCE

I have been offered the 7 per cent. cumulative preferred stock of an industrial company. The bankers state that the assets of the company are about two and one-half times the valuation of the preferred stock issued, that it will not owe more than 20 per cent. of its assets, and will not issue any mortgage loans without the written consent of holders of three-fourths of the preferred stock. Would you consider this a good safe investment? If they have the amount of tangible property claimed, why should they issue preferred stock instead of bonds? Would not the fact that the company sets forth in detail the reasons for offering stock tend to create suspicion about it?

Not in the least. Securing capital by the issue of new stock instead of bonds is thoroughly sound finance. Any established company able to provide for its capital requirements by increasing the shares of ownership in the business rather than by creating a debt has the presumption in favor of its being in a prosperous condition. There is also to be considered the theory that the expenditure of funds raised by the issue of new stock is likely to be more conservative than when money is borrowed, since in those circumstances the stockholders are theoretically spending their own money and may be expected to spend it more prudently. True, it doesn't always work that way. In fact, it is oftentimes the borrowed money that is the more prudently expended under the watchful eyes of the lending bankers. But after all, increasing partnership participation is the better financial practice, provided the stock can be sold on reasonable terms.

### No. 649. NEW YORK CENTRAL CONVERTIBLE SIXES

I want some information about the new New York Central bonds. What do they cover? What comes ahead of them? What follows them? Are they convertible; and if so, on what terms? How do you regard them as an investment?

These bonds are the direct obligations of the company, but they are not secured by mortgage on specific property of any kind. Rather are they the company's plain promises to pay, supported by its general credit. Ahead of this issue of \$100,000,000 debentures comes over \$400,000,000 of bonds and equipment trusts, and following it comes \$225,581,000 stock of an authorized issue of \$250,000,000. The position of the debentures may, therefore, be said to bear a close similarity to that of a preferred stock. The bonds are convertible into New York Central stock at 105 between May 1, 1917, and May 1, 1925.

While we are not inclined to look upon these bonds as representative of the very highest grade and most conservative securities of their type and class, we believe they are to be regarded as safe, both principal and interest, and that the conversion privilege is likely in time to give to them an additional element of value.

### No. 650. PROVIDING FOR THE FUTURE DISPOSITION OF INVESTMENT HOLDINGS

I own some long-term bonds—most of them bought after consulting your Bureau—that are payable to bearer. I desire to distribute these bonds among my daughters, my object being that they shall have possession of them in the event of my death. As far as I can make out, there are three courses open to me to effect this, viz.: (1) Register the bonds in their names; (2) Make a will, providing for their distribution; (3) Give the bonds away as presents, writing on each who the owner is. Of course, I desire to have the benefit of the interest during my lifetime. In your judgment which would be the best method for me to pursue?

Everything considered, we think the best way for you to solve the problem of the disposition of your bond holdings, is for you to make a will, providing that the bonds be put in trust for the benefit of your daughters. This solution would avoid a number of complications that would be likely to arise, in case you registered the bonds in the names of your daughters now, which would have the effect of making gifts of the bonds. This is the solution which, in fact, commends itself, especially in view of the fact that you are desirous of retaining the interest accretions for personal use during your lifetime.

In any event you should be extremely careful about writing anything on the bonds elsewhere than in the spaces provided for formal transfer. You might easily in this way destroy the negotiability of the bonds and put yourself to a great deal of trouble and inconvenience in getting the matter straightened out.